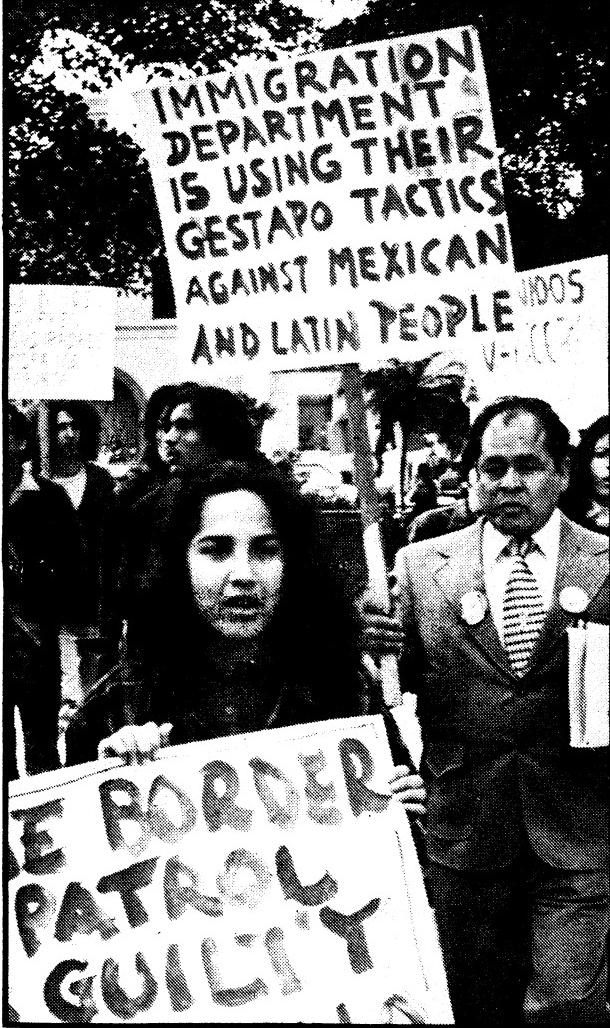


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Carter's immigration plan: threat to all workers

—PAGE 24



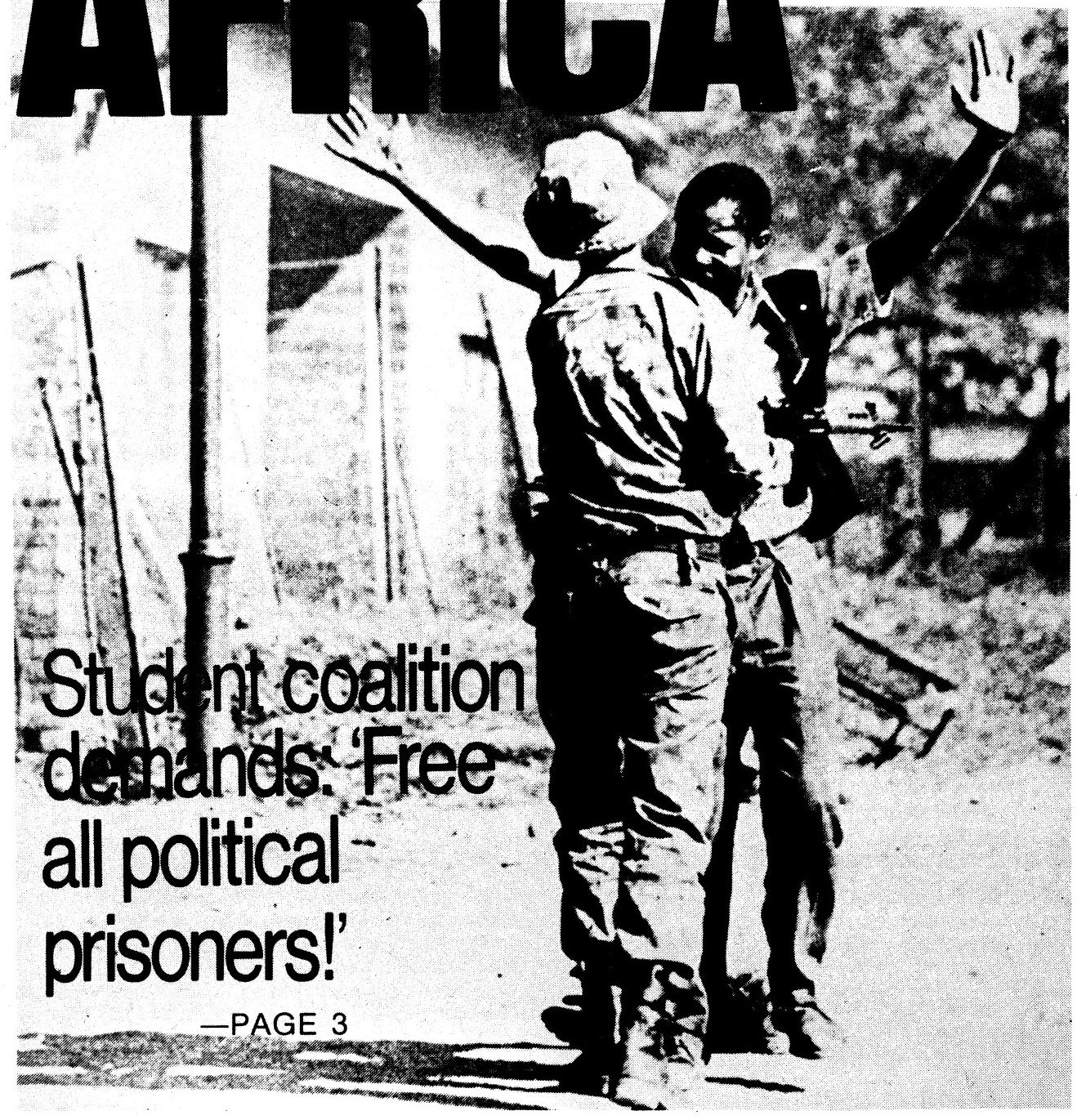
Militant/Miguel Pendás

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

SWP candidates challenge big-business parties in local elections

—PAGE 6

CRACKDOWN IN SOUTH AFRICA



—PAGE 3

Chicanos in the labor movement: the long fight for equality

ALSO:
Why immigrants don't cause job loss

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
International Socialist Review
INSIDE

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Vorster launches S. Africa repression
- 4 National target sales week
- 5 Top court threat to affirmative action
- 6 Vote Socialist Workers in '77
- 8 Unionists reject anti-import drive
- 9 German govt attacks democratic rights
- 24 Carter's immigration scheme
- 26 Women confront abortion foes
- 27 Drive begins for Marroquín asylum
- 28 CP lies about Trotskyist unification
- 32 Striking Ky. miners protest cop attack
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 Women in Revolt La Lucha Puertorriqueña
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

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COPS ATTACK KENT STATE DEMONSTRATION: Some 300 cops in full riot gear clashed with 1,500 demonstrators at Kent State University October 22. The cops were trying to break up the latest demonstration against a gym under construction on the site of the killing of four students by National Guardsmen in May 1970.

Kent State President Brage Golding had banned the rally and got an injunction against it.

When demonstrators attempted to begin a rally on the commons, police moved in to break it up. The demonstrators marched to several locations to continue the rally but were charged by the cops.

The police used tear gas three times during the six-hour confrontation. Six people were arrested and four were treated for injuries.

Two of the four cops were convicted two weeks ago of a misdemeanor—and fined one dollar. The federal grand jury said the punishment was inadequate.

Charged with violating Torres's civil rights, the four could get life in prison. A fifth cop was named as an unindicted co-conspirator.

Meanwhile, attorneys for the two convicted cops say they will appeal the misdemeanor verdict and ask for a new trial. "Torres had been arrested about five times and each time there had been a fight," said attorney Mike Ramsey.

Apparently if the cops arrest you five times in Houston and beat you each time ("a fight"), that gives them the right to drown you.

REPRIEVE FOR N.J. TEACHERS: Thirty-four Matawan, New Jersey, teachers got a last-minute reprieve October 21 as they showed up at the Monmouth County Jail to start serving contempt of court sentences. The teachers had been sentenced to twenty- and thirty-day terms for their refusal to call off a strike that lasted from September 16 to October 11. Five hundred Monmouth County teachers were picketing outside the jail when news of the reprieve arrived.

A state judge agreed to release the teachers on their own recognizance pending appeal. Forty-two other teachers and school staff have been sentenced and forty-four more are awaiting sentencing.

DETROIT ANTINUKE ACTION: Two hundred people marched and rallied in downtown Detroit October 15 against the construction of the Fermi II nuclear power plant. Fermi II, which is supposed to begin generating electricity in 1980, is thirty miles from the city.

Sponsored by the Safe Energy Coalition, the action heard several speakers point out the dangers of nuclear power, especially the unsolved problem of nuclear waste. Speakers also noted that nuclear power, far from being a cheap source of energy, is actually very expensive. The latest estimate for Fermi II's cost is \$900 million. Detroit Edison tacks the cost onto utility bills to raise the money.

PENN STATE STUDENTS WIN ONE: About 3,000 students occupied the Penn State University library October 11 to protest budget cuts that forced the building to close two hours earlier every night. Although 500 students remained in the building past 3 a.m., no arrests were made. The "study-in" was called by the student government.

The next day the university administration announced that the library would go back to its old hours.

Student government representatives hailed the announcement as a victory for the demonstrators. Asked if the "study-in" had affected the library's hours, the administration had "no comment."

A LITTLE HELP FROM HIS FRIENDS: Convicted Watergate burglar Bernard Barker won an appointment to a Miami job despite lower test scores than two other applicants, who also had more experience.

Barker listed city council member Manolo Reboso as a reference on his application but claims he never talked to Reboso about the job. He also said he hadn't been involved in Reboso's election campaign. But the *Miami Herald* revealed that Barker contributed \$300 to the campaign nine days before he took the civil service test.

—Arnold Weissberg

Phoenix Chicano convicted in frame-up

By Joe Callahan

PHOENIX, Ariz.—An all-white jury here has convicted Chicano activist Jess López on charges of arson, placing an explosive in a public building, and conspiracy. López faces a possible twenty-four years in prison.

López was accused of fire bombing a building at Glendale Community College this past April.

The prosecution case rested entirely on witnesses who had a personal stake in getting López convicted. Gerard "Tino" Rivera, a convicted drug pusher, admitted in court he had been responsible for the bombing but claimed López told him to do it. He got off with five years probation.

López's supporters, organized by the Human Rights Defense League, picketed the courthouse twice during the week-and-a-half-long trial.

López told his supporters, "the truth has a way of coming out. Some of us may have to go to jail, but we will be victorious in the end."



A VICTORY FOR ASSATA SHAKUR: On October 25 a New York state judge dismissed murder and robbery charges against Black activist Assata Shakur because the prosecution had delayed so long in bringing its case to trial. "People have constitutional rights," commented Judge John Starkey, "and you can't shuffle them around." Shakur unfortunately has already been shuffled around too much. She is serving a life sentence in New Jersey where she was framed on other murder charges.

FOUR HOUSTON COPS INDICTED IN KILLING: A federal grand jury indicted four Houston cops October 20 for their role in the killing of Joe Campos Torres, a twenty-three-year-old Chicano. Torres was beaten and thrown into a bayou to drown last May.

Special offer to new readers.

For the latest news in the struggle to defend undocumented workers, subscribe today to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*. You'll also find stories about other issues of concern to activists in the *movimiento*, as well as coverage of the Black movement, the women's movement, the labor movement, and important events around the world.

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Worst crackdown in twenty years

Vorster launches South African repression

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

The white supremacist regime in South Africa has attempted, with one sudden blow, to turn back the tide of massive Black political protests that has engulfed that country for more than a year.

Early on the morning of October 19, the Vorster regime outlawed more than twenty Black and other antiapartheid organizations and banned two Black-run newspapers. Justice Minister James T. Kruger charged that the groups and newspapers had threatened to "endanger the maintenance of law and order," that is, the maintenance of white supremacy and all the racist barbarities that go with it.

The move, which was carried out under the provisions of the draconian Internal Security Act, is the most drastic action against Black political organizations since 1960. In that year, Vorster, who was then minister of justice, banned both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, the two major Black groups of that period.

As before, Vorster's new round of bannings has been accompanied by a series of arrests. In predawn raids October 19, police seized about fifty prominent political activists, commun-

ity figures, teachers, journalists, and students. An unknown number of others were served with banning orders, which restrict them to a form of house arrest, bar them from meeting more than one person at a time, and prohibit them from writing or saying anything for publication.

The apartheid regime's sudden crackdown was met by immediate, though sporadic, protests. Primary school students streamed out of their classes in Soweto, the large Black city outside Johannesburg that has been at the center of much of the active opposition to the regime. Other Black protests were held in Sharpeville, the scene of a massacre in 1960 in which sixty-nine Blacks were gunned down by police, as well as in Graaff Reinet, Queenstown, Johannesburg, and other cities.

Fifty-four African students were arrested in Sharpeville, and ninety-seven Indians were seized in Johannesburg's Lenasia Indian Township for holding an outdoor demonstration. About sixty white students from the University of the Witwatersrand were also detained for attempting a protest march.

In his justification for the bannings and arrests, Justice Minister Kruger employed the time-worn practice of

Continued on next page



Target of Vorster crackdown is growing movement among South African Blacks for Black majority rule and end to apartheid system.

Carter's token protests hide real U.S. role

A week of token protests.

That's how the Carter administration has responded to South Africa's October 19 crackdown.

Carter made even these grudging moves only to head off international isolation and a further loss of credibility among millions in the United States who believe this country should wash its hands of the hated apartheid regime once and for all.

• On October 19 the State Department quickly issued a statement that it was "deeply disturbed"

• Two days later Carter theatrically recalled U.S. Ambassador William Bowdler.

• On October 24, United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young expressed his "personal view" that "some form of sanctions" should be imposed.

• Finally, the next day, Carter told reporters he also favored some kind of UN sanctions, but the president would not say what kind.

A report in the October 26 New York *Daily News* makes clear, however, that all the options Carter is contemplating



JIMMY CARTER

are largely cosmetic:

"The minimum action now being considered at the United Nations would be UN support for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. That would mainly affect Israel and France, Pretoria's major contractual arms suppliers.

"The maximum action that the UN Security Council is considering is a general trade embargo. It seems unlikely the council would approve that course, however, since Britain would probably veto it."

Neither Carter, nor Young, nor other administration figures have said anything about reducing the \$3.8 billion in direct and indirect American investments in South Africa.

But these help prop up the apartheid economy and the entire system of racist rule.

Ever since he launched his campaign for the White House, Carter has made the twisted argument that the U.S. billions invested in apartheid are a force for justice!

For example, in a November 5, 1976, interview in the Johannesburg *Financial Mail*, he said, "Our American businessman can be a constructive force achieving racial justice within South Africa."

One year later, this U.S. investment in apartheid has borne bitter fruit. Can there be a more damning indictment of Carter's real South Africa policy?

The president's mild protests this week are contrived to convince the American people that he shares their hatred for the racist regime in Pretoria.

But Carter is the chief executive for the American corporations that profit off the racist superexploitation of Black workers in South Africa and the continued existence of white-minority regimes in Rhodesia and South-West Africa.

That's why supporters of the African freedom struggle should not be misled by the president's words. They need to build a movement that takes on both the bigots in Pretoria and their backers in Washington.

NSCAR: 'Free the political prisoners'

The following statement was released October 26 by the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism calls on Black, women's, and student groups, trade unions, and all other supporters of civil liberties to vigorously protest the mounting wave of repression in South Africa.

The latest repressive measures announced by the Vorster regime are the most sweeping in that country in twenty years. They include the banning of two Black newspapers and the permanent banning of every major Black protest organization—among them, youth, labor, and

women's groups. They also include the arrest, detention, and banning of hundreds of Black activists and their supporters.

This new wave of repression comes in face of growing protests in South Africa following the death in police custody of Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness movement, September 12.

The Vorster regime is intent on stifling these protests and on crippling the growing movement among South African Blacks and their supporters for full human and civil rights:

- an end to the Bantu Education policies;
- an end to the forced-segregation apartheid system;
- an end to the pass laws and

other repressive and restrictive legislation;

- and Black majority rule based on one person, one vote.

The round-up of antiapartheid activists is cause for special alarm. Among the most prominent caught in Vorster's dragnet are Hlakudi Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention; Percy Qoboza, editor of the *World*, South Africa's largest Black-run newspaper; and Donald Woods, a white critic of the Vorster regime and editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*. But in addition, hundreds more have been banned, detained, and arrested in the regime's latest sweep.

The South African government's brutality against Black political

prisoners is well known. Over the past year, more than twenty Black activists have died in detention. Growing evidence shows that Biko was murdered by South African police.

Undoubtedly a similar danger confronts those caught in Vorster's latest crackdown.

NSCAR calls for immediate protest demonstrations, pickets, and rallies at South African embassies, consulates, and trade offices throughout the United States and for telegrams of protest to the South African ambassador.

Lift the bannings!
Release the detainees!
Stop the repression!

Free all South African political prisoners!

National target week—Nov. 12-19

Final push

The *Militant/PM* circulation office has set the week of November 12-19 as the second and final national target week of the subscription drive. During that week socialists in cities and on campuses across the country will adjust all their other work to facilitate meeting and surpassing their local goals.

PM over the top!

The most exciting figure on this week's scoreboard is the total for *Perspectiva Mundial*. With the subscription drive only half over, we've sold 501 *PM* subscriptions—more than 100 percent of the 500 goal.

Los Angeles socialists have sold the largest number of subscriptions to the Spanish-language biweekly. They have sold 108 subscriptions so far. Other cities that have already gone over their *PM* goals include San Diego, Boston, Milwaukee, and Detroit.

Workplace sales in Seattle

Margaret Trowe, a Seattle sheet-metal worker, found that just by reading the *Militant* over lunch, she could begin political discussions on specific articles and sell subscriptions.

Mike Downs, a Seattle dock worker, reports, "I've sold twelve subscriptions to co-workers during the drive. I keep a copy with me at work. When I tell people about the special two-dollar offer, they snap it up!"

Downs also says he sells ten to fifteen single copies of the paper on the docks each week.

New York's catch-up week

New York's special catch-up week yielded their highest weekly subscription sales so far. In the eight days ending October 16, they sold more

than 350 subscriptions.

They sold many on nearby campuses. And more than thirty were sold to supporters of socialist election campaigns at rallies and meetings during the week.

San Jose too

Jane Fisher reports that the catch-up week in San Jose has started off even better than expected. With a goal of 100 for the week, *Militant* supporters sold more than 40 subscriptions during the first two days alone.

St. Paul raises goal—again

Another new goal appears on this week's scoreboard. After an initial increase from 150 to 175, St. Paul has again raised its subscription goal—this time to 200. We'll be looking forward to more cities increasing their goals in the next few weeks.

Sales scoreboard

(Total received as of October 22)

City	Goal	Sent In	Percent
Lehigh Valley, Pa.	20	15	75.0
Albuquerque	150	108 (17)*	72.0
Salt Lake City	150	100 (8)	66.7
St. Paul	200	127 (3)	63.5
Raleigh, N.C.	120	72 (1)	60.0
St. Louis	350	210 (1)	60.0
Dallas	250	144 (6)	57.6
San Diego	300	166 (30)	55.3
Kansas City, Mo.	225	123 (16)	54.7
Tacoma, Wa.	150	80 (5)	53.3
Portland, Or.	250	133 (5)	53.2
New Orleans	300	158 (2)	52.7
Cincinnati	200	102	51.0
Los Angeles	1,100	552 (108)	50.2
Louisville	150	71 (1)	47.3
Tucson, Az.	15	7	46.7
Phoenix	250	114 (12)	45.6
Milwaukee	400	181 (19)	45.3
Miami	250	113 (8)	45.2
New York	1,800	781 (65)	43.4
Houston	600	255 (14)	42.5
Denver	300	126 (7)	42.0
Washington, D.C.	600	249 (6)	41.5
Baltimore	175	71 (1)	40.6
Gainesville, Fl.	10	4	40.0
Boston	825	327 (38)	39.6
Chicago	900	338 (16)	37.5
Detroit	825	286 (12)	34.7
Pittsburgh	450	156 (3)	34.7
Atlanta	600	205 (13)	34.2
Cleveland	300	101 (5)	33.7
Seattle	300	99 (4)	33.0
Toledo	150	49 (3)	32.6
San Antonio	350	105 (3)	30.0
Oakland	600	177 (13)	29.5
Newark	350	97 (14)	27.7
Philadelphia	675	162 (7)	24.0
Albany, N.Y.	75	17	22.7
Penn State, Pa.	40	9	22.5
Minneapolis	350	78 (1)	22.3
Berkeley	300	62 (2)	20.7
San Francisco	600	113 (6)	18.8
Amherst, Ma.	40	7	17.5
San Jose	350	56 (8)	16.0
Bloomington, Ind.	50	7	14.0
Indianapolis	150	18	12.0
Kent, Oh.	50	4	8.0
Total for Cities	16,645	6,535 (483)	39.3
Teams &			
Miscellaneous	1,355	254 (18)	18.8
Total	18,000	6,789 (501)	37.7
Should be		9,000 (250)	50.0

*Figures in parentheses indicate number of '*Perspectiva Mundial*' subscriptions included in the total.

Midwest traveling subscription team at University of Ohio in Columbus

...massive repression sweeps South Africa

Continued from preceding page

characterizing political opponents of the regime as "a small group of anarchists" who had attempted to manipulate Black grievances so as to bring about a "confrontation between black and white." He also warned that "should it become necessary, new measures will be considered."

The crackdown was launched partly in response to a mounting wave of protests over the death in police custody of Steve Biko, one of the country's most influential young Black leaders and a founder of the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

Since his death September 12, considerable evidence has surfaced indicating that Biko was beaten to death by police. Kruger, who originally claimed that Biko died after a one-week hunger strike, admitted publicly that he had suffered injuries in a "struggle" with police, although he denied that the injuries had been the cause of Biko's death.

All of the prominent groups identified with the Black Consciousness movement were among those banned, including the Black People's Convention (of which Biko had been honorary president at the time of his death), the

South African Students Organisation (of which Biko had been first president), and the South African Student Movement. A number of leading figures from these groups were arrested, including Hlaku Rachidi, the president of the Black People's Convention.

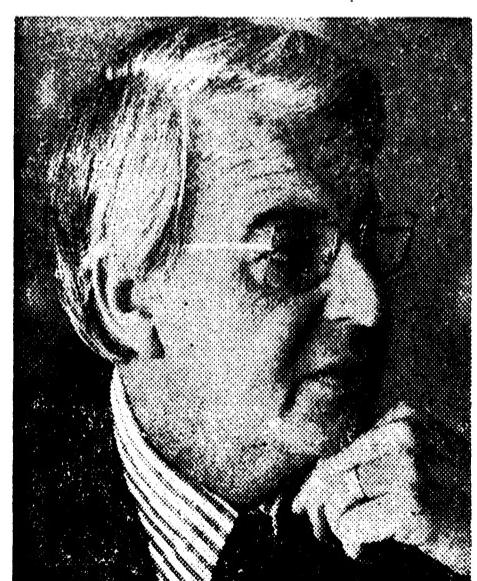
Also banned was the Soweto Students Representative Council, which had initiated many of the mass Black protests against the regime. Since its formation last year, three of its presidents have been forced into exile and one, Sechaba Montsitsi, is in jail.

Among the other groups outlawed were the Black Women's Federation, the Black Parents Association, the Soweto Teachers Action Committee, the Union of Black Journalists, and the multiracial Christian Institute of Southern Africa. The Black-run newspapers that were banned were the *Johannesburg World* and the *Weekend World*, both of which had mass circulation within the Black community. Percy Qoboza, the editor of the *World*, was arrested. The Christian Institute magazine *Pro Veritate* was also banned.

However, even if Pretoria is successful in stifling overt expressions of mass opposition for a while—and that



Percy Qoboza (left) and Donal Woods (right), both editors and critics of the Vorster regime, are among the better known victims of repressive sweep. Hundreds more have been arrested, banned, or detained.



remains to be seen—it cannot stamp out Black political activism altogether. The degree of exploitation and oppression of the Black majority by the white minority is so extreme that Blacks have been compelled, time and time again, to launch concerted struggles for their most minimal human rights.

If the earlier bannings, arrests, tortures, and massacres were unable to break the resistance and determination of the country's 22 million Blacks, neither will the current crackdown. New organizations will be formed and new leaders will take the place of those arrested or killed.

Ominous sounds from top court in 'Bakke' case

By John Hawkins

Five days after it opened oral argument in the controversial *Bakke* case October 12, the U.S. Supreme Court offered further proof of the government's determination to use the case to strike a blow against affirmative-action gains.

In an unusual move the court ordered attorneys in the case to submit further legal arguments:

"Each party to this cause is directed to file within 30 days a supplemental brief discussing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it applies to this case."

According to a *Washington Post* report October 18, attorneys for Allan Bakke may be able to use Title VI to



Militant/David Frankel

strengthen Bakke's claim that he was a victim of "reverse discrimination."

Bakke contends that the University of California's Davis Medical School rejected his application for admission in 1973 and 1974 because he is white. Bakke bases his claim on the admission in each of those years of sixteen

minority students through the school's special admissions program. These students, he claims, were "less qualified."

The California State Supreme Court upheld Bakke's claim and charged the University of California Board of Regents with "reverse discrimination." The case is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court on appeal.

Any decision in Bakke's favor would legitimize the false doctrine of "reverse discrimination." In and of itself such a legal precedent would be used to undermine the measures won by oppressed nationalities and women to achieve greater equality in employment, education, and other spheres.

But such a decision, based on a false and cynical interpretation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, would have a more far-reaching impact. It would legitimize the use of that legal conquest of the civil rights movement as a weapon against the struggle for equality of all oppressed nationalities and women.

Furthermore, it would lay the basis for opponents of affirmative action in Congress to withhold federal funding from such programs on the grounds that they discriminate against whites or males.

Given the court's recent decisions on affirmative action, such a course is obviously what the court majority is considering. However, it runs counter to the spirit, if not the intent, of Title VI.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act says straightforwardly, "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

Title VI, along with the rest of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, was a significant government concession to the massive upsurge in the 1960s of the Black communities.

The millions of Black workers and students who made up that movement demanded that the law be placed on the side of their struggle for equality.

And Congress, begrudgingly or not, acceded to that demand by passing the act.

That the U.S. Supreme Court now seeks to use that very law to deal a blow to the fight for equality underscores the government's hypocrisy and the seriousness of their intent to gut affirmative action.

Further evidence of the threat posed by the *Bakke* decision came from the University of California Board of Regents a few days following the Supreme Court directive.

On October 21 the regents approved a new admissions policy that will severely curtail the number of minority students among entering classes beginning in 1979.

According to a *New York Times* report the new policy will affect less than 2 percent of white students seeking admission to the California

state system of higher education. But 8.8 percent of prospective Black students and 9.5 percent of prospective Latino students will be denied admission when the new policy takes effect.

Virna Canson, West Coast regional director of the NAACP, correctly called the policy "the next phase in the dismantling of affirmative action."

Many university administrations and employers are awaiting the outcome of the Supreme Court's hearings on the case before making their moves against affirmative-action programs. However, they can be expected to act with the same callousness as the California Regents if given the chance.

The court's demand for briefs on Title VI and the California Regents' action underline the need for a determined, massive response to this government attack on equal rights.

Anti-'Bakke' protests

Opponents of the *Bakke* decision in New York City are planning a November 9 rally in defense of affirmative action. The rally will take place at the Harlem State Office Building, 125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard (Seventh Avenue) at 6:00 p.m.

Sponsors of the protest are the Village-Chelsea and New York-Harlem branches of the NAACP and the New York Student Coalition Against Racism. Endorsers of the activity include New York National Organization for Women, Fight Back, Black Economic Survival, and the New York chapter of the National Coalition to Overturn the *Bakke* decision.

Speakers at the rally include: Bernard Hughes, chairperson, New York chapter NCOBD; Jerome MacFarland, Parents Association, Andrew Jackson High School; Frank Leslie, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; and representa-

tives of New York SCAR, New York City Commission on Human Rights, and the NAACP.

More than 100 persons attended a picket line and rally in support of affirmative action in Tucson, Arizona, October 12. Chanting, "Support affirmative action," "Stop racism," and "Back off, Bakke," demonstrators marched through downtown Tucson to the rally at city hall. Protest sponsors included the NAACP, NOW, MEChA, and the Minority Law Students Association.

Close to 100 people attended a speak-out on the *Bakke* decision the same day at Spelman College in Atlanta. Speakers at the event included: Rev. Fred Taylor of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Peter Joy, associate national director, Law Students Civil Rights Research Council; and Leamon Hood, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

—J.H.

Stearns miners refuse to back down...

The McCreary County Record is the only newspaper published in the southern Kentucky area where the town of Stearns is located. The *Record* is not owned directly by the coal industry, as it used to be, striking miners there explain. But it's still a 'company paper.' Needless to say, the

story of the state police attack on their picket line October 17. The assault resulted in 117 strikers and women supporters arrested and a dozen injured.

After an October 21 strike meeting in Stearns, about thirty *Militants*—all the copies our reporting team had on hand—were sold to miners in a matter of minutes.

The battle in Stearns is a preview of what the coal companies and the government have in store for miners across the country this fall as the United Mine Workers contract negotiations begin.

It's certainly no time for the *Militant* to be cutting back on our eyewitness reports from the coalfields or our socialist analysis of the stakes involved.

That's why we're asking you, our readers, to pitch in and help us raise \$50,000 this fall, so we can meet our

soaring production costs and keep up our coverage of this and many other fights for social justice.

As of this week, we have received \$30,195.73, or 60 percent of our goal. The drive ends December 15.

Help us reach the \$50,000 goal by attending the special *Militant* fund-raising rallies scheduled this month and next (see page 31). Or send in your contribution today by clipping the coupon below.

I want to contribute:
 \$500 \$250 \$100
 \$50 \$25 \$10
Other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to: The *Militant* Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Militant
\$50,000 fund

miners, on strike now for fifteen months, don't think they've been getting a fair shake in the pages of the *Record*.

That's one reason why the Stearns miners were eager to talk to *Militant* reporter Nancy Cole last week. Cole flew to Kentucky to learn the miners'

...help us tell their side of the story

Vote Socialist Workers in '77

On this and the facing page, you can read reports on three of the sixteen campaigns the Socialist Workers Party is running in the November local and state elections. A complete list of these campaigns appears below. To find out more about them, contact the offices listed in the socialist directory on page 31.

Write-in campaigns are indicated by an asterisk (*).

An editorial on why working people should vote socialist appears on page 10.

ALBANY, N.Y.

Kevin Kellogg, *mayor*

BOSTON

*Hattie McCutcheon, *school board*
*Diane Jacobs, *city council*

CAMBRIDGE

Carol Henderson Evans, *city council* (vote number one)

CINCINNATI

John Stiller, *city council*

HOUSTON

Diane Sarge, *mayor*
Sas Scoggins, *city council, position 2*
Bill Pisciella, *school board, position 5*

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Debby Tarnopol, *mayor*

MINNEAPOLIS

Jim Carson, *mayor*
Faith Einerson, *city council ward 8*
Peggi Perrone, *city council, ward 2*

NEW YORK CITY

Catarino Garza, *mayor*
Jane Roland, *city council president*
Robert DesVerney, *comptroller*
Nicomedes Sanchez, *city council, district 2*

NEW JERSEY

*Rich Ariza, *governor*

PHILADELPHIA

Rhonda Rutherford, *controller*

PHOENIX

Jessica Sampson, *mayor*

PITTSBURGH

Howard "Buddy" Beck, *mayor*

Thomas Twiss, *city council*
Tania Shea, *city council*

SALT LAKE CITY

*Bill Hoyle, *city commissioner*

SAN FRANCISCO

Milton Cheen *board of supervisors, district 4*
Juan Martinez *board of supervisors, district 6*
Sylvia Weinstein, *board of supervisors, district 5*

TACOMA, Wash.

*David Zilly, *mayor*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Afrodita Constantinidis, *school board, at-large*

In addition to the 1977 campaigns listed above, the Socialist Workers Party ran municipal campaigns that are now completed in the following eighteen cities: Atlanta; Berkeley; Chicago; Cleveland; Denver; Detroit; Long Beach, California; Los Angeles; New Orleans; Oakland, California; Pasadena, California; Richmond, Virginia; San Antonio; San Diego; San Jose; Seattle; St. Louis; and Toledo, Ohio. The SWP also ran in last spring's special congressional election in Atlanta to fill the seat left vacant by Andrew Young.



Philadelphia

New Black party backs Rutherford

By Jon Hillson

PHILADELPHIA—In 1972 Melvin Burgess was one of the activists in Black Democrat David Richardson's successful campaign to become a Pennsylvania state representative from the Germantown section of this city.

Today Burgess is the president of the Black Independent Political Party (BIPP), an organization founded by some of Richardson's initial campaign supporters. The BIPP is now backing Socialist Workers Party candidate Rhonda Rutherford's bid to become Philadelphia controller.

In an October 7 speech to a Rutherford campaign rally, Burgess shared some of the experiences and thinking that shaped the BIPP's political development.

Burgess, like many other members of the BIPP, is a veteran of civil rights struggles during the 1960s.

He worked in Germantown's Northwest Political Caucus (NPC) during the early 1970s because he thought this would win Black political representation.

The NPC was the base Richardson used to get elected. Richardson ran as a Democrat, but an "independent" one, taking some distance from the racist official party machine downtown.

But, Burgess found, "there is really no such thing as an 'independent' Democrat."

"If you run to win and don't change anything" with your campaign, Bur-

gess said, "you lose. And the community loses."

When Burgess and some others realized this a few years ago, they broke from Richardson's "independent" Democratic Party organization and formed the Black Independent Political Movement. This group changed its name to the BIPP earlier this year. Rutherford is the first candidate the new formation has endorsed.

Why? "Black people need to have alternatives . . . they can believe in," Burgess told the rally. These political alternatives need to project winning "on the basis of building a movement," he explained.

Rutherford isn't just "running for herself," Burgess said. "She is running because she believes in something, in bringing change."

Rutherford is widely known here as a Black feminist activist. A member of the National Organization for Women, she has made defense of women's right to abortion and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment centerpieces of her campaign.

In the face of the city's cutback campaign against public education, she has called for solidarity between the unions representing teachers and those of other school department employees. Philadelphia authorities are cutting back across the board on social services and wages for municipal workers.

Rutherford is the only candidate actively protesting the cuts. She calls for an end to the multi-million-dollar



Militant/Walter Lippmann
RHONDA RUTHERFORD: SWP candidate for Philadelphia controller

rip-off in tax-free municipal bonds for the rich going on at the same time the Democrats and Republicans claim "there is no money."

Rutherford says the labor movement needs to champion the struggles of women, Blacks, and other oppressed groups in order to build the kind of united and powerful alliance that can stand up to the current corporate and governmental offensive against living standards and democratic rights.

This alliance, she says, needs to be expressed in visible mobilizations in the streets—never subordinating the demands of the oppressed to the narrow electoral needs of capitalist politicians.

So, "while some people say that there's no alternative to the Democrats and Republicans," Burgess said, Rutherford's belief in "independent politics and socialist action" makes her "a viable alternative."

Unlike Black "independent" Democrats, the BIPP leader explained, the Democratic and Republican parties "can't control an independent Socialist Workers Party candidate."

This is important. Because the allegiance of the traditional Black leadership to the Democrats has meant, Burgess insisted, that "we haven't had real leadership in our community for a long time."

Hopefully Rutherford's campaign, he said, would be "educational" for the Black community. He also thought that as news of his group's endorsement of the SWP campaign got around, this would help the BIPP grow.

"It will let people know that we are socialists, that we believe in democratic socialism," he explained.

"It will stimulate discussion. There is not enough debate about socialism in the Black community."

New York

Garza on teacher desegregation plan

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—In the name of moral sanity, I call upon President Carter to void this wretched contract.... It is a "prescription for division and hostility."

The "wretched contract" that Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York rose to denounce on the Senate floor September 23 was the plan drawn up by the federal Office of Civil Rights (OCR) to desegregate the teaching staff of New York City's public schools.

In his Senate harangue, Moynihan compared the plan's reassignment of teachers to even out racial composition to "the sorting of human beings for the death camps of Hitler's Germany."

The plan, while only a weak compromise measure, is one of the few issues to spark passions in this city's mayoral race. Ed Koch, the Democratic Party candidate, immediately promised that if elected he would use his office to reverse the plan.

While admitting that "there has been discrimination in the school system," Koch said, "I am absolutely opposed to the use of quotas or racial assignment to correct racial discrimination."

Since the announcement of the plan in September, it has come under an almost unanimous and often hysterical attack from Democratic and Republican politicians, the school board, and the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

Responding to these attacks, Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, says, "Moynihan's comparison of the plan to Hitler's racist policies is sheer demagogic. It shows just how far he, Koch, UFT President Albert Shanker, and School Chancellor Irving Anker are willing to go in opposing even the most minimal

efforts to achieve equality for minorities and women.

"Hitler's policies were used to segregate, persecute, and murder the oppressed Jewish minority in Nazi Germany," Garza says. "The OCR plan is designed to desegregate the staff of a school system that has one of the most racist hiring records in the country."

The controversial "memorandum of understanding" between the OCR and New York school officials was signed September 6. It follows years of non-compliance by the school board with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972. Those laws prohibit using federal funds for any programs that discriminate against minorities (Title VI) or women (Title IX).

The principle involved is quite straightforward. Tax moneys collected from all the people should be spent for the benefit of all the people, without racial or sexual discrimination.

HEW study

In November 1976 the OCR announced results of a two-and-a-half-year investigation by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the New York City public school system. The study found massive discrimination against Black, Hispanic, and women teachers in hiring, promotions, and assignments.

The city schools, with a pupil population of 67 percent minorities, employed only 13 percent Black and Hispanic teachers. "That was the worst showing among the five largest school systems in the country," Garza points out.

The study also found that the system denied women access to positions as principals and assistant principals, and paid women less in some teaching positions (such as athletic coaches) than men holding the same jobs.



October 8 New York campaign rally. Garza is at podium.

Militant/Susan Ellis

These findings were the legal basis for the OCR plan.

"The actual content of the plan, however, represents a major retreat by the OCR," says Garza. "Under pressure from Democratic and Republican politicians, the school board, and UFT President Shanker, the OCR avoided hard-and-fast quotas. Instead it agreed to some extremely weak goals."

The watered-down plan, Garza points out, allows the school board to continue its illegal discriminatory practices for years to come.

The mutually agreed upon plan concentrates on two areas: 1) discrimination in the racial distribution of teachers within the school system, and 2) discrimination against minorities in the hiring of teachers.

The proposed remedy for correcting the discriminatory distribution of teachers provides that each of the city's thirty-two school districts must reflect the proportion of minority group teachers throughout the system—within a range of 5 percent—by September 1979. By 1980 this proportion must be reflected in each of the city's 1,000 schools as well.

Key phrase

"The key phrase in this formula is 'throughout the system,'" Garza says. "It means that the proportion of minor-

ity teachers in each district—and later in each school—only has to reflect (within 5 percent) the proportion of minority teachers in the whole system—a figure that is abysmally low from years of racist hiring practices."

For example, the present proportion of Hispanic teachers in the entire school system is only 4.5 percent, Garza points out.

"A school district with no Hispanic teachers would still be within the 5 percent range and in compliance with the plan!"

In meeting these miserly goals, the school board selected a method that rejects transferring any currently employed teachers. Instead, only newly hired and rehired teachers fall under the plan.

At the beginning of this school year 2,360 of the 17,000 full-time teachers laid off in 1975 and 1976 were rehired. They were assigned so as to even out racial distribution.

But Garza points out that after two years of massive attacks on education—with further cutbacks looming on the horizon—it is not likely that many more new teachers will be hired or old ones rehired during the next three years.

Even the school board's own director of personnel, Frank Arricale, cautioned

Continued on page 30

Salt Lake City

SWP wins 2 percent in first campaign

By Katherine Sojourner

SALT LAKE CITY—Bill Hoyle, the first candidate ever run by the recently formed Socialist Workers Party branch here, won 2 percent of the vote in the October 11 first-round election for city commissioner.

Hoyle is now campaigning as a write-in candidate in the November 8 runoff. Only four out of twelve candidates won ballot status.

Hoyle, twenty-five, is the youngest candidate in the race. Even before announcing his campaign in September, he had gained a reputation here as a fighter for social justice.

Hoyle was one of the founders of the Utah Coalition Against the Death Penalty. This group held nationally publicized protests against the legalized murder of Gary Gilmore last January.

When Hoyle announced his campaign, one local paper, summing up his platform, said he "supports abortion rights, the ERA—urges everyone to honor the strike of Grand Central workers."

(Hoyle made support of a strike by approximately 300 women workers against Grand Central, a major area chain store, a big part of his campaign.)

These forthright stands made Hoyle's capitalist party competitors nervous about debating the socialist candidate openly.

When the candidates appeared on a TV talk show, for example, all except Hoyle emphatically told the commentator they refused to answer questions on the death penalty, gay rights, abortion, and other central issues. They insisted that all calls be screened.

Unfortunately for them, there turned out to be some holes in the screening. A caller asked about the 700 workers laid off by Kennecott. One of the candidates responded, "Those layoffs are of no concern to this city."

Hoyle disagrees sharply. The first plank in his platform is: "A decent job is a human right." The socialist candidate calls for a massive, federally funded public works program to create socially useful jobs for all who



BILL HOYLE: Salt Lake City SWP's candidate for city commissioner

need them. This would be financed by eliminating the \$115 billion war budget.

Hoyle also calls for a thirty-hour workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available jobs around.

Another candidate, replying to a question on gay rights, said, "My position should be clear, since Anita Bryant is my cousin."

Hoyle, on the other hand, joined gay and lesbian activists on a picket line outside the State Fair when Bryant appeared there September 18.

While this talk show was being

broadcast, a heavy inversion hung over Salt Lake City, caused by industrial pollution. While all the other candidates ducked this issue, Hoyle insisted that the profits of corporations that poison the air should be taxed 100 percent.

The city papers frequently noted Hoyle's defense of undocumented immigrants as another feature of his campaign. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for example, quoted him as saying, "Laws barring the entry of so-called 'illegal aliens' should be eliminated. These workers are the victims of an economic crisis, not the cause of it."

Debate at District 31 conference

Steel unionists reject anti-import scare

By Andy Rose

CHICAGO—Despite heavy-handed pressure from United Steelworkers of America President Lloyd McBride, delegates at the recent USWA District 31 conference voted to repudiate the anti-import campaign of the steel companies.

"The real purpose of the companies is *not* to protect the jobs of American steelworkers as they claim," stated a resolution adopted by the conference, "but to eliminate foreign competition so they can sell steel on the American market at artificially inflated fixed monopoly prices."

The resolution called upon the international union to "withdraw its support" from "the blackmail campaign of the giant steel companies."

The District 31 conference, held in Chicago October 14-15, was attended by 959 delegates representing 133 of the 273 locals in the district. With 115,000 members in the Chicago-Gary area, District 31 is the largest district in the USWA.

In his opening report to the conference, District 31 Director Jim Balanoff blamed corporate profiteering and monopoly price-fixing for the current crisis in the steel industry.

Rather than import quotas, he urged, "Our union must raise the idea of a shorter workday or workweek with no reduction in pay as one way of creating more jobs."

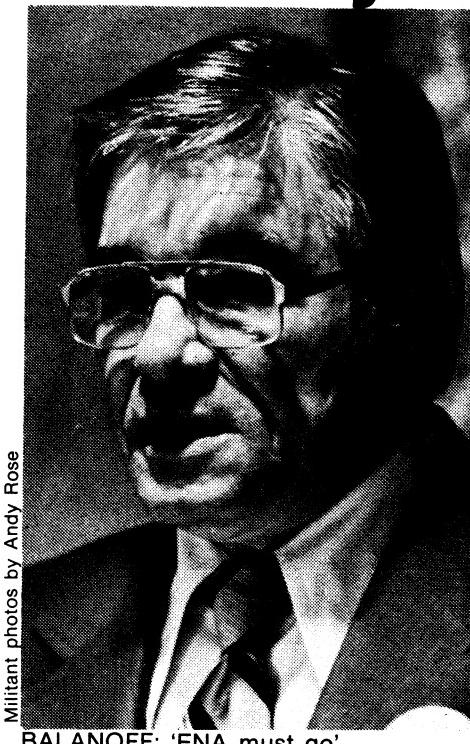
Right to strike

Balanoff also stressed the importance of the right to strike. "Under the ENA [Experimental Negotiating Agreement]," he said, "the leadership of our union has given up our right to withhold our labor. This, I say, is wrong."

"The lack of any leverage to use against the steel companies and the secret nature of the negotiations [in basic steel] were a hindrance. This must be changed. In my opinion, ENA must go."

McBride's rebuttal came at a conference luncheon that afternoon. The union president lectured the delegates on the problems of the steel corporations and the evils of imports.

"Return on investment in the steel industry has been miserable," he said. The steel corporations "should be making a better profit."



BALANOFF: 'ENA must go'



MCBRIDE: 'I'm on the company side'

The problem, McBride asserted, is that some foreign producers "have adopted the philosophy that it's better to run those mills and sell the steel at a loss during slack demand than it is to have the steelworkers laid off."

Such an un-American notion was apparently supposed to shock his audience.

"It would be a terrible thing," McBride said, "if we found ourselves at the mercy of foreign producers in steel as we now are in oil."

Deriding U.S. economists who warn of the dangers of protectionism, McBride said, "Maybe what we need in this country is some cheap Japanese economists."

'On the company side'

McBride's speech also included a reply to critics. "Some people say McBride's on the industry's side," he observed. "If wanting an industry to be working, if wanting a steel mill to be in business, if wanting steelworkers working in steel mills is on the company side, then I'm on the company side!"

McBride refused a request that he answer questions after his speech. "I have a plane to catch," he said.

In fact, as the conference resolution

pointed out, giving in to the companies' anti-import demands will jeopardize jobs, not save them.

Import restrictions, the resolution said, "would increase the costs of products made from steel thereby reducing people's ability to buy these goods, and resulting in lower production and the accompanying loss of jobs not only in steel but throughout the economy, even while the companies maintained high profits."

The resolution further noted that "import restrictions on foreign steel would encourage foreign governments to put import restrictions on American goods, contributing to the development of trade and tariff wars such as those of the 1920's which resulted in the Great Depression. . . ."

The import question sparked more floor discussion than any other point. "The companies are determined to cut the work force, to increase productivity, to raise their profits," said Dorreen Labby of Local 1014. "And I know that if they get away with it, it's women and minorities who will be the first to suffer. . . ."

"We know, or we should know, that the companies don't care about our jobs, our conditions, or our lives. They don't even care about making steel."

They only care about making money."

In his harangue, McBride had warned against speaking out against his policies. "Once the decision has been made and the debate is over and the course has been charted," he said, "then until such time as the next debate takes place in the proper arena, it seems to me that we do a disservice to our union if we fail to carry out the policy."

"Mr. McBride said that we make a decision after we've had a full discussion," replied Frank Greco from Local 1657. "Yet that discussion has not yet come. And I think everybody is entitled to that discussion and to come to an understanding of the full effect of what we're talking about."

Balanoff responded by pledging that District 31 would soon organize "a full and thorough discussion" on jobs and imports.

Discussion just beginning

Andrew Pulley, a member of USWA Local 1834 and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, attended the conference as an observer. "The discussion and resolutions here are an important challenge to the steel company lies and the complicity of the union bureaucracy," Pulley told the *Militant*.

"I'm not convinced that the specific demands in the conference resolution—such as calling on the government to roll back steel prices—necessarily point toward the most effective way of fighting back."

"No government run by the Democrats or Republicans has ever controlled prices, and none ever will. Workers can best protect our paychecks by winning strong cost-of-living escalators to raise wages whenever prices go up."

"The idea of controlling prices doesn't mean much, in my opinion, unless it is combined with opening the books of the steel companies and raising the whole question of who should run these companies—capitalists or working people."

"But," Pulley said, "the most important thing is simply that we continue the discussion begun here. That is, not discussing like McBride does how to solve the problems of the companies, but figuring out how we as steelworkers can fight back for our interests."

Women steelworkers press for equal rights

CHICAGO—A highlight of the United Steelworkers District 31 conference was the call for a district women's conference and establishment of an ongoing district-wide women's committee.

The purpose of the committee, according to a conference resolution, shall be "to institute programs of priorities, guidelines, records, technical assistance, [and] Education to insure Equal Opportunity for the Women of District 31."

The resolution also urged the international union to establish a women's committee.

A number of other conference reso-

lutions dealt with problems of sex discrimination in industry and in society.

One of these endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment as "precisely the kind of clear principle of equality of the sexes under the law that working women and their unions can use to advantage in their efforts to eliminate employment discrimination against women."

The resolution further called for the union movement to press for ratification of the ERA in states that have not yet done so and to "educate and inform the uninformed and undecided" about the ERA.

Addie Wyatt, an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, spoke at the conference and urged stronger union support for ratification of the ERA.

"The problem," she said, "is that there are too many of our union people themselves who have not come to grips with the fact that in 1977 it is time for the constitution of the United States to declare that women . . . are also entitled to

equal rights under the highest law of our land."

Another conference resolution went on record for federal funding of abortions and reaffirmed "support of all women's rights to safe, legal abortions."

Conference delegates reported on a class-action lawsuit filed by women of Local 6787 against Bethlehem Steel for its discriminatory policy on maternity leave. The gathering indicated its support to the suit and voted to demand full medical insurance coverage for pregnancy in USWA contracts.

Although women were a small minority of conference delegates (no figure was given by the credentials committee), they played a prominent role in the conference discussions.

At one point District 28 Director Frank Valenta from Cleveland gave a speech demanding import quotas on foreign steel and attacking critics of the union officialdom's policies. Valenta began and ended his talk with sexist "jokes."

Women delegates immediately

lined up at the microphones. To applause from the conference, they denounced Valenta for both his anti-import stand and his degradation of women.

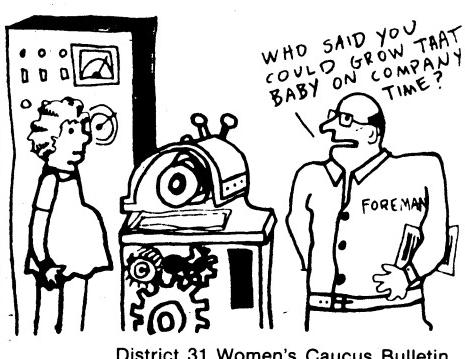
The district conference also took up social issues of Black rights in the United States and in South Africa. One resolution backed "all means of guaranteeing free, quality, integrated education, including bus-ing."

Other resolutions condemned the racist violence against Black schoolchildren participating in a voluntary busing program in Chicago and called upon city authorities to "provide full protection" for the students.

Resolutions on South Africa urged steelworkers "to give any aid possible to the black metal miners in their struggle for justice" and demanded that U.S. Steel "immediately cease its operations in South Africa."

The conference heard an address from Zola Zembe of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, a group that has been forced to function largely in exile since the early 1960s.

—A.R.



District 31 Women's Caucus Bulletin

Germany: tanks in streets, 'suicides' in prison—gov't uses terrorism as pretext for repression

By Michael Baumann

From Intercontinental Press

The deaths of three leading members of the Red Army Faction (the so-called Baader-Meinhof group) October 18 in a West German political prison specially constructed to isolate them from the rest of the world has touched off an international uproar.

The deaths came only one day after one of the prisoners, Gudrun Ensslin, asked to speak with two prison chaplains, telling them she was convinced she was going to be "executed" by the West German government.

The bloody outcome capped a dramatic chain of events in which the Bonn government refused to free the three prisoners and eight of their associates, as demanded in return for the release of

An editorial on the Marxist attitude toward terrorism appears on page 10.

kidnapped industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer and the passengers of a hijacked Lufthansa airliner.

According to authorities in Bonn, Andreas Baader and Jan-Carl Raspe died of self-inflicted gunshot wounds and Ensslin hanged herself in her cell. A fourth member of the group, Irmgard Möller, was said to have gravely injured herself in an attempt to commit suicide with a bread knife.

Skepticism with the official account was reflected in demonstrations across Europe the following day.

In West Berlin, seventeen lawyers active in the defense of alleged RAF members sent a telegram to the Ministry of Justice October 18, stating their belief that "the possibility of political detainees being executed in reprisal has now become a fact."

The protests would undoubtedly have been even more widespread had the Bonn government not been able to turn to account the terrorist actions carried out by supporters of the RAF.

With world attention focused on the fate of the kidnapped hostages, the West German authorities were able to play down puzzling questions about the fate of the prisoners, fobbing off the press with a series of unverified and less than plausible answers.

Unanswered questions

These questions include the following.

How did Baader and Raspe obtain pistols?

Where did they conceal them in isolation cells that are searched daily from top to bottom?

How did Möller obtain a knife and where did she conceal it?

If it is to be believed that the three killed themselves in despair after learning of the capture of the hijacked jet, how did they learn of this, since they are denied all access to visitors, radio, newspapers, and television?

How did they coordinate their suicides from isolation cells?

The official version of the three prisoners' deaths did little to answer these questions and in fact raised further doubts.

In a preliminary report issued by the Stuttgart prosecutor's office October 19, authorities said that Baader had been killed by a bullet entering his head from the "nape of his neck, shattering his skull." This is indeed an unusual way of committing suicide, as can be determined by anyone who seeks to simulate the alleged feat even with a pointed finger.

Furthermore, how can a verdict of suicide be squared with the fact that at least three shots were fired in Baader's cell? According to a dispatch in the October 20 *New York Times*, the report "said three spent bullets had been found in Mr. Baader's cell, one covered with blood, another sticking in the



Atmosphere of repression was heightened by police searches of automobiles and pedestrians

wall and a third in his mattress."

Although the authorities did not try to explain how the pistols had been smuggled into the top-security prison, they did claim to have found a hole in Raspe's cell "that may have been used as a hiding place" for his pistol. How this had been missed in previous daily searches was not explained.

To account for the prisoners' supposed knowledge of the outcome of the hijacking, authorities claimed to have found a "tiny radio" in Raspe's cell. How this too had been missed in the daily searches was not explained.

And to account for how the prisoners could have communicated among themselves, the government said, as summarized by the October 22 *New York Times*, that "an inspection of the cells after the death of the three inmates showed they had been able to hold conversations in Morse code through a system of batteries, a modified thermostat and wiring concealed in the cells' walls."

How this elaborate communications network had been smuggled in and assembled under the watchful eyes of their jailers was likewise not explained.

Independent inquiry called for

In view of the number of improbable elements in the official version, Gudrun Ensslin's attorney, Otto Schily, has called for the formation of an international commission, independent of the German government, to investigate the deaths.

Two simpler explanations of the deaths deserve careful scrutiny by such a commission:

1. Were the prisoners simply executed in cold blood in their cells, to eliminate once and for all the intended beneficiaries of possible future commando actions? Was Ulrike Meinhof, the imprisoned RAF leader who allegedly died by her own hand in May 1976, a victim of the same fate?

2. If they did in fact commit "suicide," were they driven to it by the inhuman conditions of their confinement, being provided with the necessary implements at the appropriate moment?

Even if the second alternative is proven to be the case, the West German government bears full responsibility for their deaths. To gain a glimpse of the conditions the RAF prisoners have been held under for up to five years, it is sufficient to recall an appeal issued in November 1974, following the death during a hunger strike of RAF prisoner Holger Meins.

The appeal, issued by the Committee to Oppose Torture of Political Prisoners in the Federal Republic of Germany, detailed the "special treatment" the Bonn government has accorded the RAF prisoners since their arrests in 1972.

Special Treatment means social isolation over a period of years by means of:

—systematic segregation from other prisoners (RAF members have been segregated from the moment of their arrest). Any attempt to talk to other prisoners is answered with confinement to punishment-strip-cells for a period of days;

—special screens fixed outside cell windows, which distort any perceptions of the outside;

—solitary exercise with no opportunity to see or speak to other prisoners;

—handcuffing during yard exercises;

—a ban on all visits and mail except from relatives. Visits by relatives are supervised by the political police, who take down every conversation in full in order to obtain information for illegal use in court;

—censorship and confiscation of books and papers.

Even these conditions have worsened, as a law that took effect October 2 removed the RAF prisoners' right to receive any mail, visitors, or news of the outside world.

The outrage aroused by such treatment is understandable and is shared by all who support elementary human rights. But the commando squads that carried out terrorist actions in an effort to free the prisoners could hardly have been more mistaken in their belief that such methods could be effective against the West German government, one of the most powerful imperialist regimes in the world.

The attempts were doomed to political failure from the start. Instead of increasing sympathy for the plight of the prisoners, they served in reality to make it more difficult to enlist the support of the masses of people whose backing is necessary to wage any effective campaign.

The counterproductive effect of the kidnappings has been brought home with force in West Germany, where the government has taken them as the pretext for a witch-hunt described as unparalleled in the country's postwar history.

A feeling for the political atmosphere was conveyed by *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann:

Officials began today what they termed the greatest dragnet in West Germany's 33-year history to track down those implicated in a series of recent terrorist crimes.

The police asked the public for information on the whereabouts and activities of 16 suspects, and published special phone numbers that citizens should dial if they wanted to supply clues, even anonymously.

Detailed descriptions of the persons on the list were provided through thousands of posters in public places, a film shown repeatedly on television, and the press. In some cities, policemen walked the streets appealing to residents through bullhorns to help in the search.

In many parts of the country, the police set up roadblocks and checked thousands of vehicles, examining the identification documents and luggage of travelers.

Curbs on civil liberties

Nor are the effects limited to West Germany. A conference of American "antiterrorist" experts, meeting in Puerto Rico September 26-27, used the Schleyer kidnapping and other recent incidents to turn the meeting into a call for restricting civil liberties.

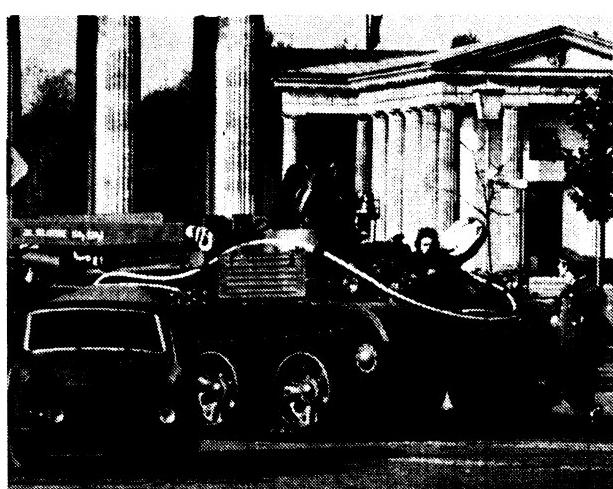
Yonah Alexander, director of the "Institute for Studies in International Terrorism" at the State University of New York, was one of the most forthright in expressing this view.

"In the U.S.," he lamented, "congressional action has been moving to weaken, rather than strengthen, the FBI and CIA at a time when terrorism is increasing."

Instead, he said, governments should be stepping up "surveillance." In particular, he suggested increased use of wiretaps, informers, and infiltration of radical groups.

These are of course the very methods of political disruption the American government has been forced to step back from, following revelations of government spying disclosed in part by such legal challenges as the \$40 million suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party.

It is an index of the consequences of the recent kidnappings that they provided an opportunity to refurbish the image of the FBI and CIA as "protectors" against terrorism.



Tanks were called out in 'war against terror'

Vote SWP in '77

Recently President Carter made a headline-catching tour of the South Bronx, one of this country's most devastated neighborhoods. People lined his route, shouting, "Give us money!", and, "We want jobs!"

Because of Carter's policies, and those of other Democratic and Republican party officeholders, the rights and living standards of American working people are under sustained attack.

Unemployment, high throughout the population, is at depression levels among Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

The jobs and wages of city workers are being slashed, cutting into vitally needed social services. Large corporations are abandoning major cities, taking hundreds of thousands of jobs with them.

School desegregation is under assault. The courts, politicians, and corporations are taking aim at affirmative action.

The right of women to safe, legal abortions is under fire.

Immigrants without visas are the victims of a hysterical anti-'alien' campaign.

Next week, many of the big-business politicians who perpetuate these problems will be asking you to vote them into office again.

In sixteen of these elections, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are offering a political alternative.

The SWP candidates demand:

- *Jobs for all.* Eliminate Carter's war budget. Use the \$115 billion to provide jobs for all at union wages.

- *Equal rights for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.* Desegregate the public schools. Full bilingual and bicultural education. Institute and enforce affirmative-action quotas.

- *Defend women's right to abortion.*

- *Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.*

- *Stop the deportations of undocumented immigrants.*

Many *Militant* readers participate in struggles for these and other demands of the oppressed. It doesn't make sense to fight against the capitalist politicians and their policies 364 days a year and then vote for them on election day.

Working people need to break with these parties and forge an independent labor party based on a militant, revitalized trade-union movement. They need to fight for a workers government that would reorganize society on a planned, socialist basis.

A vote for the socialist candidates next week is a vote for that class-struggle perspective. We urge you to vote Socialist Workers.

Marxism vs. terror

One hundred thirty years ago Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*, "The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."

This has remained the view of the revolutionary movement to this day. Socialists seek to win the majority of the working class to our ideas and to change society through the conscious action of that majority.

Terrorists reject Marxism's mass-action strategy. They seek to change society through the sensational actions of a few committed individuals.

Few examples of terrorist action have shown the futility and foolishness of this strategy so graphically as the recent hijacking of a German airliner and kidnapping of German industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

The impact of these actions on the struggle for socialism was negative. The terrorists, whatever their intentions, played into the hands of the German capitalist government, which exploited the events to whip up popular support for repressive measures.

Rather than helping to win the release of political prisoners in Germany, the terrorist actions made it more difficult to mobilize public opinion on their behalf. In fact, as explained in the article on page 9, these actions were very probably used as cover by the German government to murder several political prisoners.

Finally, such terrorist actions only helped obscure where the real responsibility for violence belongs and who society's real criminals are. The American government that slaughtered millions in Vietnam, for instance, grabs these opportunities to paint itself as an opponent of violence.

That's why it is necessary for revolutionists to reaffirm the simple truth that the oppressed and exploited around the world will liberate themselves; they will not be liberated by self-appointed saviors.

Not the 'Guardian', thanks

Enclosed you will find a check in payment for a gift subscription for my brother. He has been a *Guardian* reader for many years, and over this time we have occasionally traded subscriptions.

The final falling-out between the *Guardian* and the Maoist theocrats of Shangri La had a definitely demoralizing impact on his political outlook. But I have hesitated to send him another sub—until now.

I would appreciate it if you could start sending his six-month sub immediately, starting from the October 21 issue.

R.L.
Springfield, Massachusetts

pronounce him bigger than a sport that intellectually, morally, and culturally falls somewhere between Kung Fu movies and child pornography. Lilliputian proportions would suffice to be "bigger" than professional boxing.

It seems likely that future generations will regard this brutal, dehumanizing activity much as present generations look at dueling or gladiator combat.

Hillson's right on a second point though: Ali should retire. All boxers should. Reigning over a dungheap is not a very praiseworthy accomplishment.

George Dolph
Raleigh, North Carolina

Ali: round four

Marxism has never tried to define a "correct line" in relation to questions of culture, and I suppose sports fit under the general heading of culture. But surely we have a minimal responsibility to bring to our examination of

Continued on page 23



The following letter was sent to the 'Militant' and other publications by Gary Tyler. Tyler, nineteen, has been imprisoned since November 1975 for a crime he did not commit. He was convicted by an all-white jury on charges of murdering a white youth outside a Destrehan, Louisiana, high school. He is serving a life sentence in Angola State Prison.

To my families:

I am formulating this missive to express my deep appreciation to the people who have been real strenuous within the struggle to liberate me and many others who have been victimized by this corrupted system.

While here reminiscing about the incident that occurred and eventually led to my state of incarceration, I couldn't help but to take advantage of this leisure time in formulating these words on paper so I could share these tender feelings in my heart with those of you who have interpolated to me the real actuality of love.

If you've noticed the title—I addressed this missive to my "families." Well, all of you have become and been like a real family to me. There are mothers and fathers I have never seen and brothers and sisters I've never met. But in spite of this, you good people took time out from your own personal problems and came to my aid in my hours of despair.

Everyone of you in some form or fashion have by all means

contributed to my livelihood and have showered me with kindness and with undivided concern to the utmost.

And I want you all to know I've never had faith in the judicial system, because the laws are prescribed against the Blacks and especially the poor people here in capitalist America.

My faith lies within the people; I am depending upon you, my family, to liberate me from bondage.

And while I am being held in this institution by the forces of this state, I will continue to deal realistically with the social factors that impede my wholesomeness under the power of my known adversary.

My compeers, I am determined to incessantly retain the volition to triumph! By any means necessary.

I would like to extend my love and solidarity to the mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters, and my special thanks to you beloved people for standing by me and others like the Wilmington Ten, Dessie X Woods, the Dawson Five, Joan Little, Kenny Johnson, Yvonne Wanrow, Inez Garcia, Delbert Tibbs, Rubin H. Carter, and John Artis, etc., etc.

Thank you.
*Where there is a soul in prison,
I am not free.*
Gary R. Tyler/Eusi Kuumba
#84156 - CCR
Angola, Louisiana 70712

For more information write: Gary Tyler Defense Fund, 344 Camp Street, Suite 314, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130.

international **SOCIALIST** review

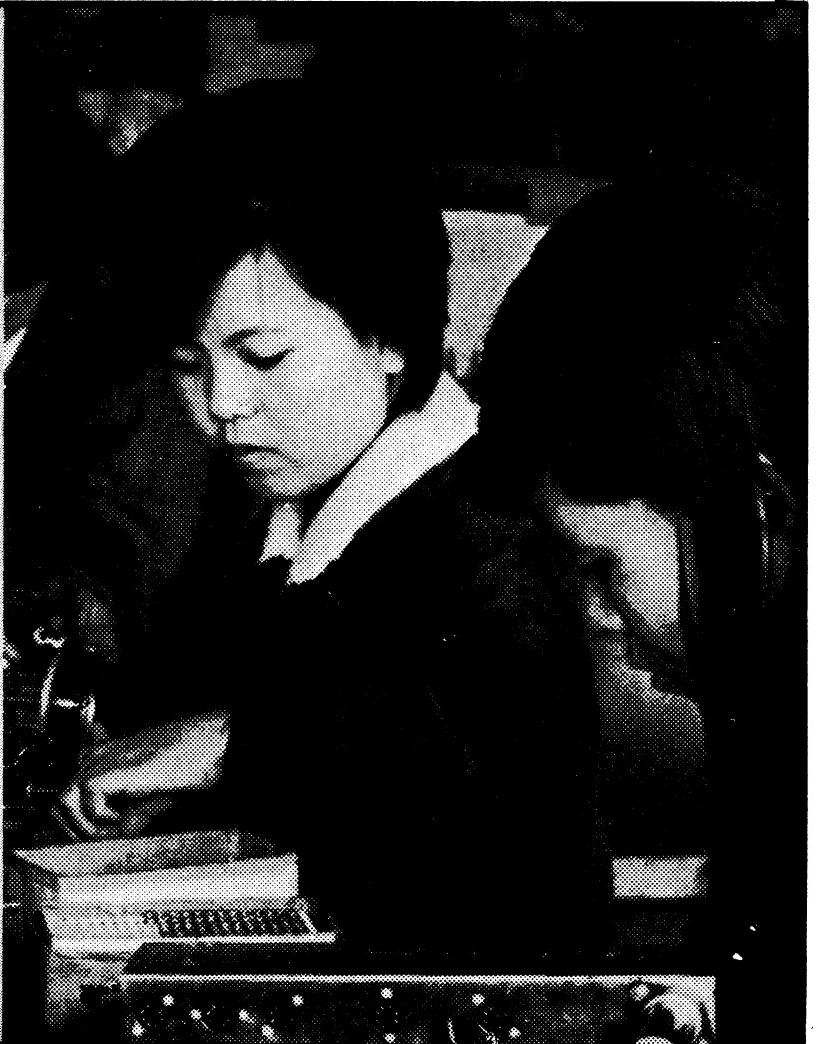


Chicano Workers and the Union Bureaucracy

By Raul Gonzalez

Korean Women Workers:

**'We Are Struggling
to Free Ourselves'**



THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Immigrants and Jobs

The Chicano/Latino conference on immigration and public policy being held October 28-30 in San Antonio is a step toward focusing national attention on the persecution of immigrant workers without work or residence permits—dubbed “illegals” by the government and the capitalist press.

The treatment of undocumented workers is an issue facing not only Chicanos, Latinos, and other oppressed minorities, but the labor movement as a whole. Working people have been targets of an intensive propaganda campaign blaming immigrant workers for unemployment, declining living standards, and even high taxes. Millions of workers have been taken in by such assertions.

The charge that undocumented workers push up taxes by using public services is not hard to disprove. A study of “illegal” immigrants in San Diego prepared for the county board of supervisors found that they paid \$49 million in Social Security and income taxes. At the same time local government agencies were estimated to be spending about \$2 million in social services to these workers.

Fearful that exercising their right to social services will lead to detection and deportation, these workers contribute much more to government revenues than they receive in return.

* * *

The claim that undocumented immigrant Chicano and Latino workers are “stealing” the jobs of “American” workers and causing unemployment is fraudulent.

An eager purveyor of this argument, taking Ford and Carter’s lead, has been the AFL-CIO leadership. The March 12, 1977, issue of *AFL-CIO News* reported an executive council resolution calling for action against “illegal aliens.” According to this report the council said, “the number of illegal aliens in the United States . . . is in line with the statement of Labor Sec. Ray Marshall that it ‘exactly equals the number of unemployed in this country.’”

Meany and his fellow bureaucrats want union members to think there would be no unemployment if it were not for the undocumented immigrants.

The fact is that the high rates of unemployment over the past several years were not caused by undocumented workers replacing citizens, but

by layoffs by capitalist big business. These have affected Blacks, Chicanos, and Latinos (who make up the largest number of undocumented immigrants) *more* than other workers.

Undocumented workers have not taken the jobs of laid-off workers in steel, construction, printing, and other industries. It is the employers who have stolen these jobs in order to make workers pay for the developing economic crisis of capitalism.

No capitalist system—including American capitalism—can exist without a substantial pool of unemployed workers to force down wages, living standards, and working conditions for the rest. The presence or absence of millions of immigrant workers would not abolish the capitalist business cycle or the capitalists’ use of unemployment as a weapon against the working class.

The expulsion of undocumented workers might even have a depressing effect on the economy, since these workers have come to represent a significant market for goods and services. The San Diego study estimated that “illegals” spend about \$115 million annually in that county alone. What would happen to the jobs of workers who produce food, clothing, and other items purchased by undocumented workers if mass deportations were carried out?

The AFL-CIO leaders are perpetrating a fraud, therefore, in blaming undocumented immigrant workers for unemployment. They have their own reasons for doing so.

They know that a real campaign against unemployment would mean a struggle with the employers, whom they view as partners in the process of collective bargaining. It would mean a break with Carter and the Democratic Party politicians, who have no desire to abolish unemployment. It would mean mobilizing the ranks of labor for a shorter workweek, massive public works programs, and other vital needs.

To forestall rank-and-file demands for such a course, Meany and his fellow bureaucrats try to find some sector of the working class—rather than the bureaucrats’ capitalist allies—who can be blamed for unemployment. They blame women or the elderly for not leaving the job market. They point an accusing finger at Blacks for seeking equal opportunity through affirmative-action programs and quotas; at immigrant workers for “stealing” jobs; at workers in other countries—the real targets of the anti-imports campaigns undertaken by the United Steelworkers and International Ladies Garment Workers’ Union officials.

These misleaders hope to ride out the economic crisis by denouncing victims of the crisis in order to retain their lucrative collaboration with the capitalist criminals themselves. In pressing the anti-immigrant campaign, the bureaucrats are quite consciously playing the American workers for suckers.

The AFL-CIO heads also neglect to tell workers the real cost of an effort to expel undocumented workers. An attack of this scope against millions of people would require the imposition of wide-ranging police-state controls, controls that would put into question the very survival of the unions.

The support given by big business to the antideportation campaign should make workers suspicious. They should think twice when an antilabor publication such as *Business Week* laments in its April 15 issue that the availability of undocumented workers “puts a ceiling on wages, benefits, and working conditions for U.S. workers in low wage sectors”—especially since the same magazine editorialized a few weeks later against increasing the minimum wage.

Big business has no intention of eliminating undocumented workers from the job market. They have no intention of relieving the downward pressure on wages and working conditions that the existence of a large pool of discriminated-against and unemployed workers exerts on the employed workers.

The rulers use racist and sexist discrimination to keep women, Blacks, and other minorities in this reserve army of labor. In the case of the undocumented worker, police persecution and “illegal” status are added weapons.

The main purpose of the stepped-up campaign against undocumented immigrants is to assure that these workers remain victims of low-wage superexploitation. *La migra* will be used to increase fear and intimidation among these millions, while anti-immigrant and racist propaganda is aimed at isolating them from other workers.

The rulers fear that immigrant workers (especially Latinos) will, as their numbers grow, become more self-confident and willing to resist mistreatment. That is what Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall meant when he warned that the “children of these undocumented workers will be the focus of the civil rights movement of the 1980s.”

Marshall knows that the concessions made to the civil rights struggles of the 1960s were costly to the capitalists, weakening their capacity to impose the worst jobs, wages, and working conditions on Blacks. He aims to forestall a similar development among immigrants. The aim of the administration’s program is to keep these workers in “their place.”

The trade-union movement has a vital interest in helping undocumented workers fight for equal rights, better wages, and improved working conditions, instead of joining the government’s campaign to terrorize these workers into submission.

The AFL-CIO tops and other union chiefs often promise to organize the unorganized. But they can never hope to organize the workers of the West, Southwest, and elsewhere if they act toward a whole section of the working class as an extension of the immigration police rather than as protectors and allies.

The anti-immigrant drive is no answer to layoffs. It is part and parcel of the anti-working-class offensive, of which layoffs and cutbacks in social services are a part. If the ruling class succeeds in cowing the undocumented immigrant, the capacity of the whole working class to resist ruling-class attacks will suffer. If the undocumented workers and their allies can beat back the ruling-class drive, the working class will emerge that much stronger and more united.

CONTENTS

The Month In Review	2	How Stalin Betrayed the Second Chinese Revolution	5
Chicanos and the Union Bureaucracy	3	‘We Are Struggling to Free Ourselves’	12

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Chicano Workers and the Union Bureaucracy

Some Lessons from the Past



United Farm Workers union won added support in the fields by taking stand in defense of undocumented workers

The racist prodeportation stand of union heads such as George Meany is nothing new. The Chicano worker has long been victimized by the racist policies of the union bureaucracy. These policies have damaged the union movement and, if not reversed, will lead to big defeats.

By Raúl Gonzalez

At its founding convention in 1886, the American Federation of Labor pledged to organize all workers regardless of nationality. In 1892 AFL President Gompers wrote to an AFL organizer, "If we fail to organize and recognize the colored wage-workers, we cannot blame them very well if they accept our challenge of enmity and do all they can to frustrate our purposes. If we fail to make friends of them, the employing class won't be so shortsighted and [will] play them against us. Thus if common humanity will not prompt us to have their cooperation, an enlightened self-interest should."

Neither common humanity nor enlightened self-interest prevailed. After some wavering,

Raúl Gonzalez is a participant in the movement against the deportation of immigrant workers. He lives in Los Angeles.

Gompers and the AFL leadership adopted and maintained a racist attitude to Black, Chicano, and Asian workers. For some years, the AFL even extended this stance to immigrant workers of southern European origin.

Racism in the AFL

From the very beginning, the AFL under Gompers joined (and in some cases initiated) racist campaigns to exclude Chinese and Japanese immigrants from the United States prior to and following the turn of the century. Either Chinese workers would be excluded by law, Gompers threatened, or they "will be driven out by force of arms."

The methods by which the AFL and its affiliates applied racist and exclusionary policies varied from place to place, from union to union, and from year to year. Chinese workers were excluded from the beginning.

AFL craft setups conspired with employers to

push nonwhite artisans, especially Blacks, out of numerous trades.

Blacks, Chicanos, and other nonwhites were usually barred outright from union membership. When they were admitted, they almost always found themselves in segregated seating at union meetings without the rights exercised by white members. Only in a few unions organized along industrial rather than craft lines, such as the United Mine Workers, were nonwhites admitted on the basis of formal equality.

In 1900 the AFL constitution was amended to state: "Separate charters may be issued to central labor unions, local unions or federated labor unions, composed exclusively of colored workers where in the judgment of the Executive Council it appears advisable." This gave legal sanction to the racist structure that the AFL had established.

Of course, no priority was placed on organizing

nonwhite workers. Will Winn, the AFL organizer for Georgia, wrote in the February 1898 *American Federationist* that the Black worker lacked "those peculiarities of temperament such as patriotism, sympathy, sacrifice . . . which alone make an organization of the character of the modern trade union possible." The AFL's attitude toward workers of Mexican origin was no better.

That the policies of the AFL were in contradiction with the needs and opportunities facing organized labor was shown by the fact that the Knights of Labor had made important steps in organizing Black workers before the AFL arose; the IWW and the Western Federation of Miners led many Chicano workers in struggle in the mines and fields of the West and Southwest during the first decades of this century.

Basic Concepts of the AFL

Three basic concepts underlay the AFL officialdom's racist policy. First and foremost was its class-collaborationist and conservative political outlook. The growth and expansion of U.S. capitalism had firmly convinced Gompers and his cohorts that capitalism was here to stay. Gompers viewed labor and capital as partners in strengthening the system.

Secondly, the AFL leaders believed that only the skilled workers, because of their technical training, "indispensable" position in industry, cultural background, and greater education were in a position to win concessions from the bosses through class collaboration. Since nonwhite workers were generally unskilled, this placed them outside the sphere of most AFL organizing.

Racism was closely related to these factors in the outlook of AFL bureaucrats. In the minds of the early architects of the AFL policy toward nonwhite workers, racist attitudes were closely linked to patriotic ones. The United States was emerging as a world imperialist power, and Gompers strongly identified with this expansion. The establishment of Jim Crow in the South, and the conquest of nonwhite peoples in Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, fostered racist prejudice. U.S. expansion abroad and white privilege at home were seen by the AFL leaders as beneficial to the well-being of the small layer of craft workers they had chosen to represent.

Migrations and Racist Riots

With the coming of World War I, there was no improvement in the AFL position. Just the contrary.

The years prior to and during the First World War saw large-scale migrations of minority peoples to the North. Pushed by poverty, unemployment, and the turmoil of the Mexican revolution of 1910-20, and pulled by the availability of jobs in the United States, the first massive Mexican immigration of this century began.

Census and immigration figures for 1911-20, although much understated, show that 219,000 *mexicanos* entered the United States as compared to only 50,000 for the previous decade. Similarly, tens of thousands of Blacks, escaping Jim Crow and lured by industrial jobs, came north.

True to form, Gompers denounced the influx of *mexicanos*. He warned that they might eventually enter semiskilled and skilled trades, which would be "detrimental to the best interest of the country." A delegate to the 1919 AFL convention declared that *mexicanos* were "not only un-American in their ways, and nonunion, but also aliens, owing allegiance to another country." The AFL Executive Board called on immigration officials to turn away those without proper permits.

The year 1917 saw one of the worst racist riots in the twentieth century. White workers and unemployed youth in St. Louis poured into the streets protesting the replacement of some white workers by Black workers at lower wages. Marching under union banners, the mobs attacked, brutalized, and killed many Blacks.

Not a word of opposition to this bloodshed came from the AFL either nationally or in St. Louis.

The disastrous results of the AFL's racist course were brought home by the 1919 steel strike.

In 1918 the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and twenty-two other affiliates of the

AFL formed the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers. With the stated goal of uniting workers of all races, they set out to organize the mills.

After a few months into the drive reports began to come back in to William Foster, the driving force behind the national committee (and later a leader of the Communist Party), that the great majority of Afro-American steelworkers were declining membership in the union. At the same time, they expressed support for the idea of unionization.

There were good reasons for this apparent contradiction. The Black steelworkers, and the much smaller number of Chicanos, placed little confidence in the AFL. They had no reason to expect that unionization under AFL auspices would better their conditions.

The impact of the AFL's racist record on the thinking of nonwhite workers was compounded when the national committee rejected a request from Black unionists that Black organizers be appointed. Several unions involved in the organizing campaigns, notably the Machinists and the Electrical Workers, continued to exclude nonwhite workers from membership, even during the strike itself.

Racism and Strikebreaking

In September 1919 the national committee was forced into a strike. About 300,000 workers answered the call in what has gone down in history as the "Great Steel Strike."

Despite widespread public support, the strike failed. Most of its goals, including union recognition, were not met for nearly twenty years. Although stiff opposition from the steel barons and weakness of the craft-divided AFL unions were elements in the defeat, a vitally important contributing factor was the success of the bosses in employing strikebreakers, particularly nonwhite strikebreakers.

Of the nonwhite strikebreakers, the majority were Black. Three years before the strike, the two largest plants in the Chicago-Gary area had employed only 18 Chicanos and 558 Afro-Americans, mainly unskilled workers barred from membership in the AFL's craft affiliates. During the strike the numbers swelled to 142 Chicanos and 2,699 Afro-Americans. Inland Steel of East Chicago sent representatives to the border to hire *mexicanos* to act as strikebreakers in 1919. Some 900 accepted the offer.

Despite Foster's appeals to the Black clergy and community, the national committee estimated that between 30,000-40,000 Afro-Americans were employed as strikebreakers in the major plants.

Foster concluded after the defeat, "Race prejudice has everything to do with it. It lies at the bottom. . . . The white man has enslaved him [the Black workers] and they don't feel confidence in the trade union. . . . In the steel strike he lined up with the bosses." Yet in the most basic sense, it was the AFL that had "lined up with the bosses," through its policy of segregating and excluding nonwhite workers.

The report of the Inter-Church Commission of Inquiry into the Steel Strike concluded that, ". . . it is evident that great numbers of Negroes who flowed into Chicago and Pittsburgh plants were conscious of strike breaking. For this attitude, the steel strikers rightly blamed American organized labor. . . . Through many experiences Negroes came to believe that the only way they could break into a unionized industry was through strike breaking."

The seeds of racist division that the AFL had helped the ruling class to sow had borne bitter fruit.

Chicanos in Steel

Even before the 1919 strike, Blacks had become a sizeable sector of the steel industry work force. In 1933, after four years of depression in which Blacks bore a disproportionate burden of layoffs and firings, they still constituted 8.5 percent of all iron and steelworkers.

During the years of prosperity in the 1920s, Chicano workers also became heavily employed in the steel industry. By the mid-1920s Chicago-area steel mills employed 6,000 Chicanos, some 11.7 percent of their total work force. Between 8,000 and 10,000 Chicanos were employed in the industry as a whole.

With the stock market crash of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, the rule of last



George Meany, like his predecessor Samuel Gompers (top), tries to win privileges for some white workers through class collaboration, while defending racist discrimination against nonwhites.

hired, first-fired asserted itself with a vengeance as thousands of Blacks and Chicanos were laid off. Racist groups demanded—and often won—the firing of Chicanos, claiming this would keep white Americans employed.

Deportations began in earnest. In the city of Los Angeles alone, 30,000 Chicanos and *mexicanos*, citizens and noncitizens, were forced at

Continued on page ISR/10

Chen Pi-lan remembers: How Stalin Betrayed the Second Chinese Revolution



CHEN PI-LAN

The following article concludes Chen Pi-lan's reminiscences of her experiences in the Chinese Communist Party and women's liberation movement during the revolution of 1925-27. The first installment appeared in the October issue of the ISR (supplement to the October 7, 1977, issue of the *Militant*).

Chen Pi-lan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922 at the age of twenty. In 1924 she was among those selected to attend the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. When a revolutionary upheaval broke out in China the following year, Chen returned to participate.

The first installment carried Chen's recollection from this point to the coup carried out in March 1926 by Chiang Kai-shek in Canton. This event signalled that the Chinese capitalists and their imperialist allies were determined to crush the revolution.

After the bloody defeat of the second Chinese revolution at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, Chen Pi-lan and her companion Peng Shu-tse were expelled from the party. They were accused of "Trotskyism" for criticizing Stalin's policy of supporting the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei.

Later Chen was a founder of the Revolutionary Communist Party of China, serving on its political bureau. In 1949 Chen and Peng were forced to

flee China as the Maoist regime launched a campaign against Trotskyists, who supported the overturn of Chiang but opposed Mao's anti-democratic practices. Some disappeared and many others were imprisoned without charges or trial. The Chinese government has been silent about their fate. Chen and Peng have lived in exile ever since.

Chen Pi-lan is now preparing her memoirs. The translation of this article from Chinese is by Jane Tam and Joe Miller. Joe Miller's name was inadvertently omitted from the introduction to the previous installment.

About the latter part of April, the central committee sent Peng Shu-tse as a special envoy to Canton, where he was to discuss with Borodin how to deal with Chiang Kai-shek, and what stand the CCP should take on the issue of continued cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP. At that time I wondered why a coup, in which a member of the CCP was arrested, happened in a place where there was a revolutionary government. I wanted to take a short vacation to go to Canton with Peng Shu-tse, so I could find out what really happened, and also to learn about the women's movement there.

I told Ch'en Tu-hsiu about this—trips to other provinces had to be approved by the central

committee—and he thought it was a good idea. My request was approved by the regional committee, and I was assigned to attend the coming Third National Labor Congress in Canton as a representative of the Shanghai General Labor Union. I was to meet with the local leaders of the women's movement from around the country.

Peng and I arrived in Canton at dawn on April 30. That same morning we went to the offices of the Canton Provincial Committee (PC), where we met Ch'en Yen-nien, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's eldest son, who was the secretary of the PC. Our old friend Chang T'ai-lei and his companion Wang I-chih invited us to lunch, and then to their home, where Borodin also lived. Chang T'ai-lei acted as Borodin's interpreter, and Wang was the editor of *Canton Women*, in which I had published some articles.

Effects of the Canton Coup

The next day was May Day, and everything was closed down. Peng and I walked to the May Day celebration. We were joined on the way by Chang T'ai-lei and Wang I-chih. At the meeting we met T'sai Ch'ang, the woman comrade who had come back from Russia with me. She was now the secretary of the Canton Provincial Committee's Women's Bureau. Wang introduced me to Teng Ying-ch'ao, Chou En-lai's wife. Teng was then the secretary to Ho Hsiang-ning, the head of the KMT Central Committee's Women's Bureau.

We sat on the floor with some other leaders of the women's movement, chatting and waiting for the meeting to start. I had a strange feeling: why were these women leaders so casual and so separated from the rank and file? This was completely different from the Shanghai situation. I was particularly astonished when Ch'en Yen-nien came to us and said, "Something awful may happen today. It is possible that the Kuomintang will suppress this meeting. You people should leave this meeting immediately and go back to Borodin's place. We don't want the women to participate today."

This was the opposite of what we had done in Shanghai, where the women's coalition was in the forefront of the battle at every meeting. Here it was a mere ornament!

I went to the May Day meeting anyway. There were no other women there, not even a women's banner. I stood alone under the podium listening to the speeches. One male comrade I did not know insisted that I speak. I told him I had just arrived in Canton, that I hadn't prepared, and that I didn't know the Canton dialect. But he insisted, saying that someone would translate my speech into Cantonese as I talked. I finally spoke, in an unorganized way, on the significance of May Day.

It was a huge meeting, but the tone was very subdued. It lacked revolutionary spirit. The speeches were cautious, following Borodin's conciliatory policy, and no important CCP leaders spoke. Under the so-called revolutionary government such meetings, and the women's movement as well, were mere formalities.

I stayed in Canton for only a month, attending numerous meetings, including the labor congress I had come for. There was one other meeting of note: a Canton cadres meeting in which Borodin gave a four-hour speech. He particularly emphasized the danger of the right wing. What he implied was that the CCP should wholeheartedly support Chiang Kai-shek and his Northern Expedition.⁷ He even said that now was the time for the CCP to work as "coolies" for the KMT. In defending Stalin's opportunistic policy, his sophistic and distorted speech toned down the criminal role played by Chiang Kai-shek in the March 20 coup.

Almost none of the Canton comrades—except one or two—expressed angry sentiments when they talked to Peng and me about the coup. This was completely different from the reaction in Shanghai.

There were only twenty-some women comrades in the meeting of Canton women party activists. No women's issue was discussed. Teng Ying-ch'ao read Borodin's speech (it had been trans-

1. In July 1926, the KMT government in Canton launched a Northern Expedition led by Chiang Kai-shek to defeat the warlord regimes of Central and North China and establish a single unified government. Stalin insisted that the CCP give full political support to Chiang until the war with the Northern generals was over, arguing that Chiang needed the working-class movement and would not attack the CCP while fighting a war on another front.

lated into Chinese) page by page. It took her two hours. After that, the meeting was adjourned. That was the situation in the women's movement led by the CCP in the territory of the "revolutionary government."

Opposition to Borodin's Policy

Shu-tse and I went back to Shanghai at the beginning of June, and I happily returned to my old job. Peng Shu-tse gave a detailed report to the regional committee on his discussion with Borodin about the March 20 event and the "Resolution Adjusting Party Affairs" passed by the Kuomintang.² All the members of the regional committee opposed Borodin's decision to accept the KMT's resolution. They realized that the compromising attitude of the Canton Provincial Committee would severely restrict the activities of the CCP. We were unanimous in considering that the CCP should not tolerate this kind of situation. If the CCP was to work as "coolies" for the Kuomintang, it could not work effectively for the party. Many of us wanted to pull out of the KMT. As an expression of this sentiment we took the following actions.

In the middle of June, the Shanghai Regional Committee decided to withdraw all the CCP members from the Shanghai KMT Executive Committee. This decision was publicly announced by placing advertisements in all the large Shanghai newspapers, including the *Shen Pao*, the *Shih Shih Hsin Pao*, and the *Hsin Wen Pao*. This kind of protest could not solve the fundamental problem, but it violated Stalin's opportunistic line, for which Borodin was a spokesperson.

In the latter part of 1926 (October, November, and December), the work in the regional committee intensified. The occupation of Wuhan by the Northern Expedition Army catalyzed the whole situation in China; the revolutionary movement was rising. At that time the objective situation in China was favorable for revolutionists: the ruling authority was tottering; Sun Ch'uan-fang's army was disintegrating. The CCP therefore decided to carry out an armed insurrection to help the Northern Expedition Army. On October 24, 1926, the CCP staged a small-scale armed uprising; but this was aborted because it did not call for a general strike and did not have the participation of the revolutionary masses.

This first armed uprising, though it failed, produced no great losses. On November 5, when the news reached Shanghai that the Northern Expedition Army had occupied Chiu Chiang, the revolutionary movement rapidly revived. After that many street-speaking teams appeared on the main thoroughfares of the city. They also distributed leaflets and pasted up wall posters. The Shanghai Regional Committee was busy every day planning these activities. I had to mobilize all the women comrades, including those of the Youth League, in the name of the Shanghai Women's Coalition to carry out this work. We were always followed and chased around by undercover detectives and police.

Two large mass meetings were held at the Hsi Men Stadium on November 28 and December 12. The Shanghai Women's Coalition was in the forefront of these demonstrations and spearheaded the marches that followed, breaking through the lines of police and soldiers that encircled the meetings. These two rallies and marches were harbingers of the general strike and armed insurrection that were imminent.

White Terror

In February 1927, after the Northern Expedition Army occupied Hangchow and Chiahsing in the vicinity of Shanghai, tension gripped Shanghai again. The authorities tried to launch a decisive clash by intriguing with the British and French police to suppress and stifle the revolutionary movement. They sought to repress public opinion by arresting revolutionary workers and intellectuals. The regional committee decided to call a general strike, which was announced by the General Labor Union for February 19. Early in the morning of that day,



Rebel women on trial after abortive uprising in Canton in 1928. Uprising was a desperate attempt, at Stalin's order, to reverse Chiang's counterrevolutionary victory.

more than 150,000 workers struck and the great city was paralyzed. By the fourth day of the strike there were more than 360,000 participants.

The general strike aimed mainly at helping the Northern Expedition Army as it approached Shanghai. But on Chiang Kai-shek's order the army halted. This seemed incomprehensible to the CCP members then. Only Chiang knew of his conspiracy with the commander of the Shanghai garrison, Li Pao-chang. Li was to use this breathing space to brutally murder the revolutionary workers and people in cooperation with the police of the International Settlement and the French Settlement. In this way they expected to reduce the CCP's power.

Encouraged by Chiang, Li blatantly put out a "kill on sight" proclamation. He sent out many execution squads into the streets, with their great broadswords. As soon as they encountered workers and students giving speeches or distributing leaflets, they chopped off their heads on the spot and hung them on the telephone poles

and light posts. Even citizens who picked up leaflets from the ground and read them were beheaded. The arrests were countless (more than fifty boarding students at Shanghai University were arrested indiscriminately without regard to their ideology). The gruesome cruelty of this white terror was terrible to look upon.

This barbarous oppression and ruthless slaughter not only failed to intimidate the workers and the revolutionary masses, but instead ignited the revolutionary flame. The CCP decided to launch a second armed uprising, but the workers could not wait. Before obtaining the order for the uprising, workers and party cadres were resisting the massacre on the streets, and they began street battles with the police squads and soldiers. They desperately seized any weapons they could get their hands on. At 6:00 p.m. on February 22, the time designated for the second uprising, the working masses, led by party cadres, opened fire in Chapei and the south of Shanghai. The insurrection held out for two

2. Following Chiang Kai-shek's March 1926 coup in Canton, the KMT adopted a "Resolution Adjusting Party Affairs" to govern further cooperation with the CCP. Its basic points were: CCP members could not criticize the "Three People's Principles" of Sun Yat-sen; they could no longer assume positions as heads of departments in the KMT Central Committee; CCP members could not make up more than one-third of any local KMT committee; and the CCP had to turn over a list of the names of its members in the KMT.

days. Then, because of the lack of help from the Northern Expedition Army, the flame of revolt was extinguished by the soldiers and police. In the crisis, Sun Ch'uan-fang of the Chihli faction had united with the Fengtien group against the masses. Of course, they were being directed from behind the scenes by the imperialists.

The Shanghai Women's Coalition could not make speeches or distribute leaflets, but we could still organize teams to call out slogans on the streets. As soon as we saw the approach of a big black police van, we hurried into the big department stores on Nanking Road.

The Shanghai working class and the party cadres suffered defeat in two insurrections, yet they were still full of confidence in preparing for the coming victorious uprising. The party leadership also learned from experience in these two defeats. The detailed and perfect planning of the third uprising was the result of discussions in joint meetings of the central standing committee and the regional committee. Chou En-lai was put in charge of military affairs.

Popular Uprising

The CCP decided to launch a general strike and insurrection when the Northern Expedition Army from Chekiang entered Shanghai. But by March 20 the Northern Expedition Army had advanced only to Lunghua on Shanghai's outskirts. Chiang had ordered them to halt temporarily to avoid an armed confrontation with the imperialists in the Shanghai foreign settlements. The central standing committee and the regional committee decided to go ahead anyway with the strike and insurrection. The Shanghai General Labor Union sent representatives to Lunghua to appeal to the Northern Expedition Army to come to Shanghai, but they were turned down.

The CCP and the working masses of Shanghai could not wait any longer. In answer to the call of the Shanghai General Labor Union, 800,000 men and women workers went on strike at noon on March 21. This was the biggest strike in Shanghai's history. It closed down the factories, handicraft workshops, the shipping industry, and communications. In addition, the strike was joined by longshoremen, postmen, telephone operators, office workers, and sales clerks. The popular uprising was like a rushing torrent.

The strikers all gathered in designated places where there were armed workers. There were seven war zones. From noon to evening, in a matter of hours, with the exception of Chapei, the workers successfully occupied all police and military stations. Bewildered and losing confidence, the soldiers and police either took off their uniforms and threw away their weapons, or hung up white flags and put all the weapons on the floor as a token of surrender. The insurgent workers were now fully armed. Courageous women workers used all kinds of methods to transport weapons and important messages at the risk of their lives. They gingerly walked along the walls from one battle line to the other. Some intellectual women comrades spent whole nights in the battle zones making noodle cakes and cooking eggs to be carried to the fighters by men and women with red bands on their arms.

On this decisive night, Ch'en Tu-hsiu lived at our place, as it was the headquarters of the joint committee directing the insurrection. Ch'en, Peng Shu-tse, Cheng Ch'aolin, and I sat in the office and stayed awake. The sound of gunfire continued the whole night. We all were afraid that our forces would not get the help of armed workers from other districts or from the Northern Expedition Army, and would thus be unable to resist the strong Shantung army, especially the White Russian mercenary army hired by the warlords.

After winning victory on six of the battlefronts in Shanghai, the masses fought the final and decisive battle in Chapei. From 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. fighting raged in North Station. At the end, the hired Russian mercenaries fled into the Foreign Settlement, and the Shantung army disintegrated. The militant workers under the leadership of the CCP won a victory in the third Shanghai armed uprising. People set off fireworks in the streets to celebrate; men and women with red armbands ran back and forth on the street shouting for joy. Liu I-nung, Chou En-lai, Wang Shou-hua, and Chao Shih-yen, the four commanders of the war zones, arrived at our place to discuss future strategy. They were in a cheerful spirit, with broad, victorious smiles on their faces.

When the Northern Expedition Army reached Shanghai from Lunghua, the whole city with the exception of the Foreign Settlement was in the hands of the workers and the CCP. Workers patrols were able to maintain public safety and order, showing the power of the newly rising proletariat. In addition, the victory of the insurrection had raised the prestige of the General Labor Union and the CCP, and their membership was consequently increasing by leaps and bounds.

Comintern Policy Leads to Disaster

Unfortunately, by carrying out the Comintern's opportunistic policy of the "bloc of four classes" and "cooperation" with Chiang Kai-shek, the central committee and the regional committee politically disarmed themselves after the great victory of the insurrection. These leading party bodies formed a Shanghai Provincial Government with the bourgeoisie. If a workers government had formed an alliance with the anti-Chiang forces in the army (many officers sympathized with the CCP), it would have been possible to smash Chiang before he consolidated his power. But this would have violated Stalin's "line." Therefore, the CCP had no alternative but to tie its own hands and feet—and those of the workers—while they waited for Chiang Kai-shek's massacre.

The CCP Central Committee members and the Comintern representatives who stayed in Shanghai then could not resolve this dilemma. Most of them went to Wuhan, where the majority of the central committee and of the Comintern representatives were stationed. Only Peng Shu-tse and Ch'en Tu-hsiu remained in Shanghai.

Even if the whole central committee and all of the international representatives had been in Shanghai, they would not have taken a different line from that of the Comintern. Nobody was aware at that time of Trotsky's criticisms of the official line, and nobody would have dared to break with the International. By following the Comintern's opportunistic policy, the CCP left Chiang room for maneuver and for all kinds of intrigues and conspiracies. Finally Chiang launched his great massacre on April 12, 1927. This was the tragic outcome of the CCP's support of Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition and of permitting him to assume control in Shanghai. The CCP was acting, of course, under the orders of the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern.

In the early morning of April 12, a group of us were leaving for Wuhan by steamship to attend the CCP's Fifth National Congress, scheduled to begin at the end of April. This group included Jen Pi-shih, the secretary-general of the Youth League, and his wife; party central committee secretary Wang Jo-fei; Tseng Meng, the technical secretary; Ch'en Chao-nien and his wife; and me. But our ship didn't leave until late in the evening, and we didn't know why. At noon, the Central Committee Communications Bureau sent for Wang Jo-fei, who left telling us he was going for cigarettes. But he never came back, so we left without him. A few days later, he came to Wuhan and told us in detail how Chiang had ordered the terrible massacre of unarmed people, including women and children. It was a time of ruthless and gruesome terror! This great massacre has been described in the newspapers of that period and in many history books (such as in *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* by Harold

Isaacs). I will not describe it further here.

We arrived at Wuhan in the early morning of April 17. When I reached the place where Peng Shu-tse was staying, all the comrades were ready to leave for the "Snowy World," a big recreation center, where a meeting of the entire Wuhan membership was to be held. There were about 4,000 members at the meeting. Chang Kuo-tao, who was secretary of the Hupeh Provincial Committee, gave the political report. He strongly emphasized the revolutionary role of the Wuhan KMT government and the necessity for the CCP to cooperate with Wang Ching-wei in order to overthrow the imperialists and warlords, and so on. Aside from this speech, not much went on at the meeting.

I felt at the time that we lacked a clear political line. However, the number of CCP members was very impressive. When I left Wuhan in 1923 there were only 100 members in the whole of Hupeh Province. Now there were more than 4,000 in Wuhan's three cities alone, not counting the Youth League members.³ In the province as a whole there were more than 10,000 members. The party had undergone a considerable expansion in the course of the revolution.

In this meeting I met not only many familiar comrades from Wuhan and from other provinces, but also many old friends and schoolmates who had not been in the party when I saw them last. Some of them had considered me too radical during our adamant fight with the principal in the Girls Normal School. I was a little surprised to see them at the meeting. But people change with the changes in the objective situation. It was an undisputed fact that the Wuhan government was a product of the extensive work the CCP had done in organizing the workers, students, women's, and peasants movements. CCP members held cabinet posts in the Wuhan government and headed the Political Department in the army. Some CCP members headed colleges and lower schools and many were professors and teachers. In addition, the unions and the peasants, students, and women's associations were all under CCP leadership. As a result people were knocking at the doors to get into the CCP. Many of these people were genuinely devoted to the revolution; but quite a few were only interested in advancing their personal careers.

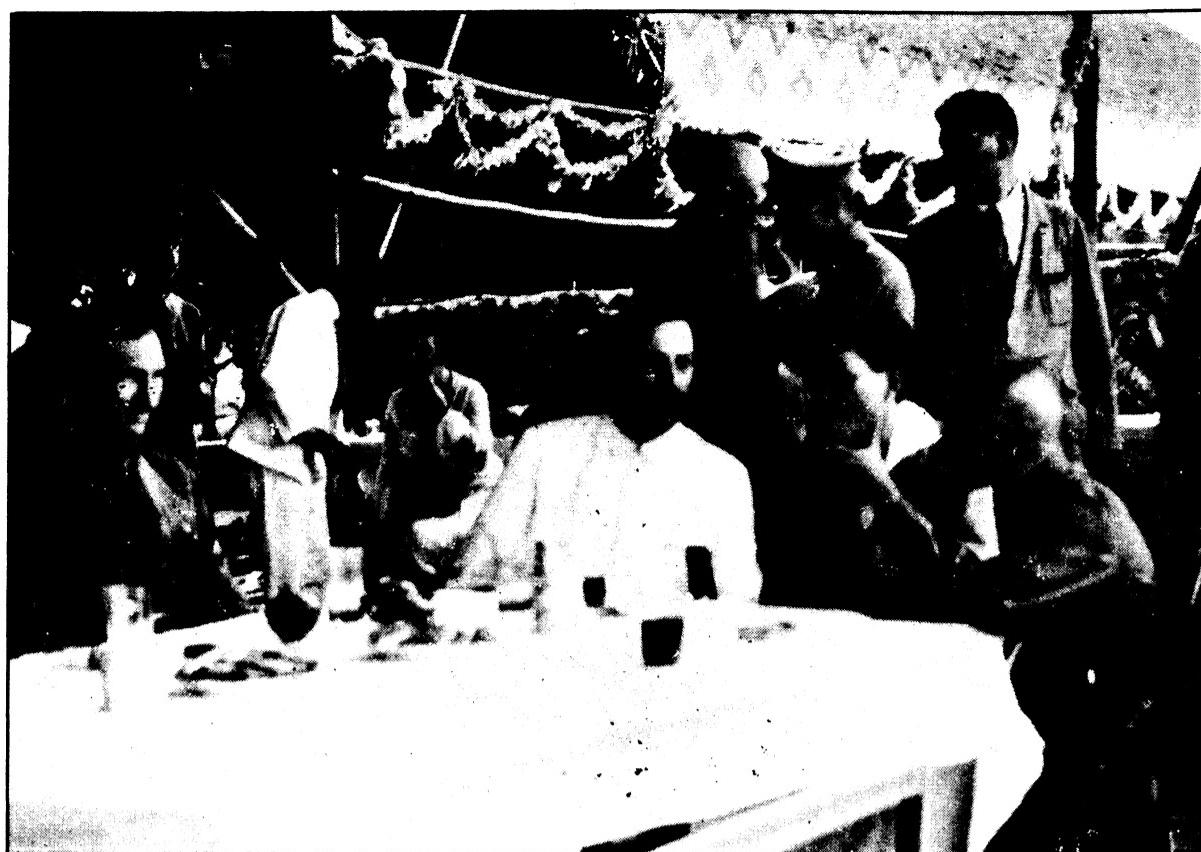
Women's Movement in Wuhan

When I arrived in Wuhan I became a member of a committee to plan activities for the Wuhan women's movement. It was composed of Hsiang Ching-yü, Yang Chih-hua, and myself and was headed by Voitinsky's wife (she never told us her name). It appeared to me that Yang was not at all familiar with the women's movement and could not formulate a strategy for it. Hsiang, who had just returned from Russia after a three-year stay, was also out of touch with the situation. I was in my last month of pregnancy and did not have sufficient energy to attend extensive activities. As a result no planning for the women's movement came out of these meetings. With no other course of action open to me, I went to some schools and women's groups in order to get an understanding of the Wuhan women's movement.

3. Wuhan is a triple city, straddling the Yangtze River in Hupeh Province. It is composed of the cities of Hankow, Hanyang, and Wuchang.



Victims of Chiang Kai-shek's massacres in 1927



Mikhail Borodin (center in white), the Comintern's representative in China. He helped impose Stalin's policies on reluctant CP.

First I visited Hsü Ch'ien-tse, one of my old schoolmates in Girls Normal School, who was now a principal of a Wuchang elementary school. Hsü was one of the original five who led our struggle with the principal. She invited me to stay at the elementary school for a few days, where I met many of my former classmates. My visitors even included the daughter of the principal whom we had driven out, and also some who had been against us five years before, who had at that time rejected our radical acts and ideology, such as my opposition to the traditional feudal outlook and my belief in free association between men and women in public, sexual equality, women's liberation, free love, and socialism.

At that time I had set an example by cutting my hair short in violation of the custom of the times, and by dissolving the marriage engagement arranged by my parents. I had been looked on as a rebel. Now, five years later, all of them had cut their hair. Many of them were now members or leaders of the Wuchang Women's Association. Some of them had joined the CCP. The heads of the women's association, Lan Shu-wen and Li Che-shih, were CCP members. Li had become the secretary of the women's bureau of the Wuhan CCP. These two, Lan and Li, had also been my enthusiastic supporters in the fight with the principal. Li had been the one who held our banner, marching to the dining hall, and had ripped up our dismissal order.

While in Wuhan I crossed the Yangtze River several times to visit the Wuchang Women's Association, where most of the people I met were my former schoolmates from the Girls Normal School. The women's association was located in a big building in which there was a spacious auditorium. Its main activities were to fight for sexual equality in education, for the right of women to participate in politics, and to try to solve marriage problems. There was a tribunal that judged individual cases of oppression of wives by their husbands and mistreatment of daughters-in-law by their mothers-in-law. This tribunal was the prototype of the tribunals set up by the peasant associations in Hunan and Hupeh.

The peasant movement was then in its heyday. In Hunan and Hupeh, according to an Agricultural Department report, the peasant associations had more than 10 million members. The Hupeh membership accounted for about 3 million of these. The peasants rose up spontaneously to seize land from the landlords. Every peasants association included within it a women's association. In certain respects the women showed themselves more courageous than the men in the struggle. Besides participating in the physical fight, the women demanded freedom in marriage and divorce.

The women's associations formed their own courts to judge husbands who had beaten or abused their wives. The associations criticized such husbands and enforced appropriate punish-

ments against them. If a husband was incorrigible, the women's associations helped the couple obtain a divorce if both sides agreed.

In keeping with feudal tradition, large families were the rule. The majority of them consisted of several generations living together. There were often conflicts among members of such families; disputes between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law were especially common. The majority of the mothers-in-law tyrannized their sons' wives. They used every opportunity to impose on the younger generation the same sufferings they had endured when they themselves were young. The daughters-in-law who had to bear this treatment would complain to the women's associations, which would then pressure the mothers-in-law to change their ways. This revolutionary action of the women's movement in itself showed the depth of the radicalization in Hupeh at that time.

Class Collaboration in Wuhan

In Wuhan, revolutionary slogans and posters could be seen everywhere. Power was shared between the CCP and Wang Ching-wei's KMT. Su Chao-cheng, the minister of labor, and T'an P'ing-shan, the minister of agriculture, were leading CCP comrades. The CCP had built and held the leadership of all the mass organizations. The Hupeh General Labor Union, headquartered in Hankow, had 3 million members, plus the strength of the peasant associations.

If the CCP had learned from the bloody April events in Shanghai it would have immediately abandoned the policy of KMT-CCP cooperation and raised the slogan of workers, peasants, and soldiers soviets. This slogan would have rallied the revolutionary forces in both Hunan and Hupeh and revived the revolutionary power of the people of Shanghai (the CCP, the working class, and the anti-Chiang forces in the army). A new offensive could then have been launched to smash Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary forces, which were then restricted to the riverbanks at the mouth of the Yangtze. Chiang's position had not been consolidated; many officers in his army were not in agreement with him.

The Comintern remained disastrously somnolent after both the March 20, 1926, Canton coup and the April 1927 Shanghai bloodshed. The opportunistic policy of "KMT-CCP cooperation" remained in force. The only effect of these events was to have the CCP ordered to shift its allegiance from Chiang Kai-shek to Wang Ching-wei. Wang was regarded as the leader of the left wing of the KMT and his government in Wuhan was credited with being the center of revolution!

The decrees of the Wuhan government deprived the workers and peasants of their gains. But the so-called left-wing KMT still shouted that the peasants were guilty of "excesses," the worker patrols were committing "excesses," and the Boy Scouts were committing "excesses." This word began to be used all over Wuhan. Some CCP leaders made the same accusations. For

instance, one night a Boy Scout erroneously knocked at the door of Ts'ai Ho-sen, a leading member of the CCP, waking him. The following day, Ts'ai angrily told people he met that "the Boy Scouts are committing excesses." Afraid to offend the left-wing KMT or to break up the "KMT-CCP alliance," Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, the head of the CCP's Peasant Committee, and Li Li-san, head of the Workers Movement Committee, persistently ordered the party cadres at all levels and everyone in the KMT government they influenced to put a stop to the "excesses" of the workers and peasants.

The CCP, which should have pushed the revolutionary struggle forward so as to fulfill the workers' and peasants' demands, now became a brake on the revolution, serving the bourgeoisie and the landlords. This shameful degeneration of the CCP was the result of Stalin's opportunistic policy of the "bloc of four classes" and "KMT-CCP cooperation."

The convening of the CCP's Fifth National Congress took place at the most critical moment of the revolution. There were only two roads open: either immediately abandon the alliance with the KMT and raise the slogan of workers, peasants, and soldiers soviets, leading the revolution to victory, or help the growth of the reactionary forces and lead inescapably to disaster. Unfortunately, the congress remained faithful to the Stalinist line.

The political line adopted by the Fifth National Congress was based on "Questions of the Chinese Revolution," published by Stalin on April 21, 1927. This document emphatically argued that the "left KMT" led by Wang Ching-wei would establish "the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants" and accomplish the revolutionary democratic tasks. Thus the discussion and the resolutions of the CCP's Fifth Congress were centered on strengthening the Wuhan government.

A Tragic Confirmation

When Trotsky read Stalin's "Questions of the Chinese Revolution," he considered the proposed course to be fatal for the Chinese revolution. In reply he wrote "The Chinese Revolution and the

'In certain respects the women showed themselves more courageous than the men in the struggle. Besides participating in the physical fight, the women demanded freedom in marriage and divorce.'

Theses of Comrade Stalin" (May 7, 1927), in which he thoroughly criticized Stalin's opportunistic views, especially Stalin's opposition to the formation of workers, peasants, and soldiers soviets. Trotsky warned that the class struggle must not be subordinated to the Kuomintang by the "phrasemongers of the all-inclusive national front." He showed that the brutal April events had been a direct result of the policy of the "bloc of four classes."

"Unless this is stated openly, explained, and deeply impressed," Trotsky insisted, Stalin's "philosophy of the two paths of development will only serve to screen opportunism . . . to prepare a repetition of the April tragedy at a new stage of the Chinese revolution" (*Leon Trotsky on China* [New York: Monad Press, 1976], p. 170).

Unfortunately, Trotsky's prediction was confirmed in less than two-and-a-half months! The April tragedy was repeated in the Wuhan revolutionary center! The "left-wing Kuomintang" of Wang Ching-wei carried out a bloody purge of the CCP on July 15, 1927. The second Chinese revolution was thus buried by Stalin's dictatorial and shameful leadership. Afterward, beyond the tens of thousands who had been openly murdered by Chiang, the workers and peasants, CCP members, and revolutionary masses, endured a long period of wretchedness in China.

September 29, 1976

...Korea

Continued from ISR/12

Union to request them to release us.

Ms. Lee Soon Ok, one of the two who were hospitalized at Seoul Sacred Mother (Sung Mo) Hospital, was found to be suffering from mental disease and her very life was in danger. Soon Ok was hospitalized later in Yoido Mental Hospital. Ms. Lee Ton Hee was released after twenty days' treatment. Stating resolutely that she would continue union activities, she continued sitting on the sofa at the office of the labor union for more than two months. After the sit-in struggle, the company pressured active members to resign from the company or to write a statement they would not participate any more; several hundred members were fired from the company.

New Chairman

News of our bloody struggle reached many people. At the Congress of the Central Committee on 29 July, the present chairman, Kim Yung Tae proposed and got passed a resolution of no-confidence in the former chairman of our union, Bang Soon Cho, for his poor handling of the incident at the Tongil Textile Company. At that time he put on a big show of concern for the cause of the workers of Tongil Textile Company and loudly promised to solve their problems if he were reelected. He was elected chairman of the union.

We requested the floor of the congress to solve the present problem immediately and quickly elect delegates and announce a new congress. We asked this because chairman Bang had promised to do this when we were taken to the police station. But the new executives did not listen to our demands and only put off solution of our problem.

We endured and waited. On 5 November the headquarters sent Lee Poong Woo, an executive of the planning board, as chairman of the coordinating committee. We entrusted all authority to him, believing in the good faith of the headquarters, and simply waited for the day of the election of delegates. But to our surprise, opinion at headquarters was to oppress us and to renew the agreement (between the labor union and the company) to allow the puppet employees membership in the union on the pretext of improving the quality of the labor union.

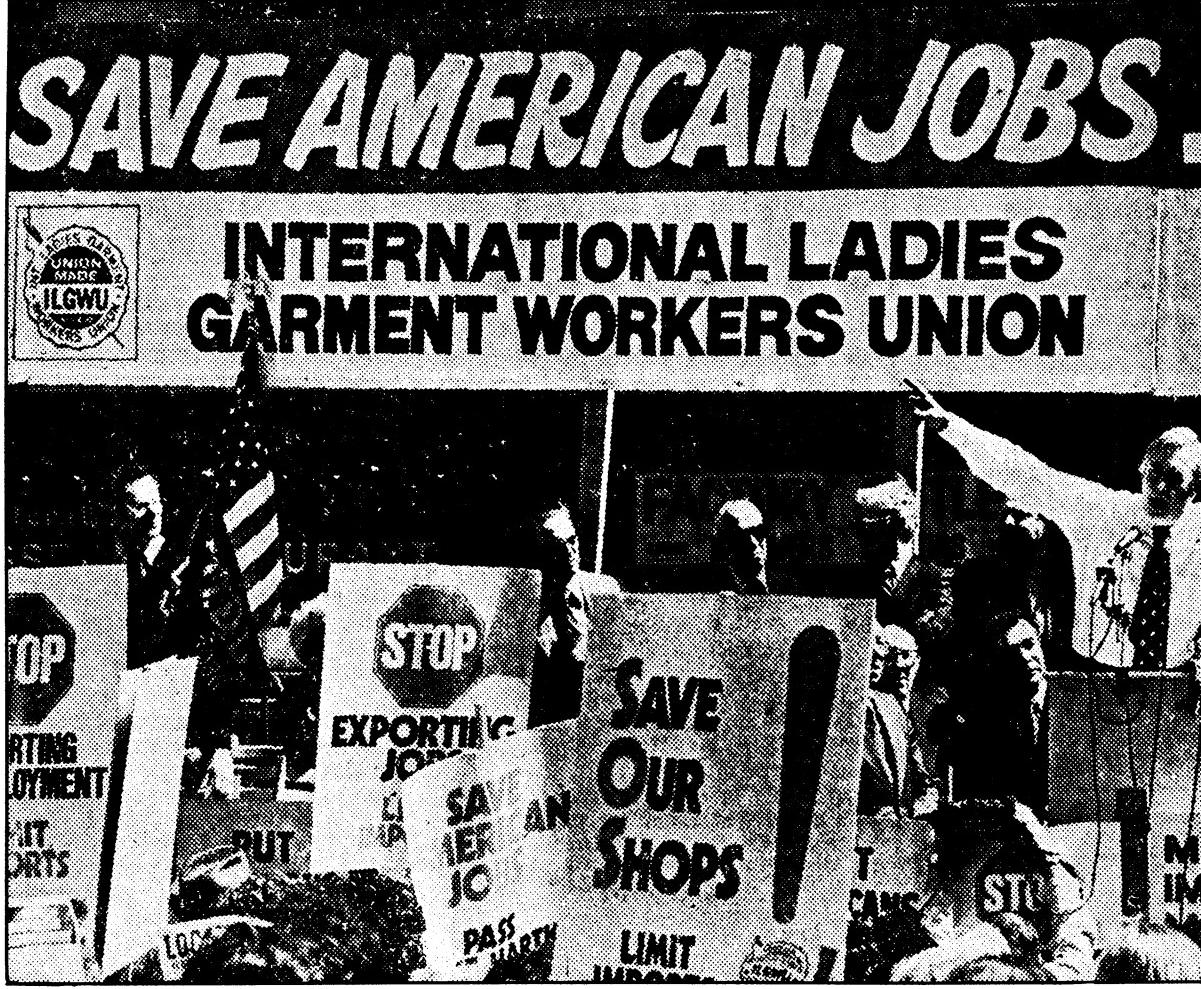
We immediately opposed this. Under the present situation, allowing the puppet employees into the union would be to give our union to the company. Therefore we opposed renewal of the agreement. But the headquarters used a deceptive policy of saying that they were in the process of negotiations, and that they would listen to our opinion. They ordered us not to look through the documents sent to the labor union.

We were furious when we read the official notice from Kyunggi-do dated the 25th of December, which proclaimed that the Governor of Kyunggi-do gave his consent to the renewal of the collective agreement between us and the company which Lee Poong Woo, Director of the Planning Office, concluded as of the 24th of November at his own discretion. Inflamed with anger, we rushed to the Union Headquarters to see the chairman, only to be still more deeply disappointed.

We did our best to contain our anger and asked him for full particulars of the incident, but he replied in disgustingly violent language: "What sort of women are you, who prefer labor movement to marriage? You are simply mesmerized now. That's why you are fooling around like this." He even started to trim his nails as if he had no interest in continuing the talk with us. Pak Ki-Yang, Director of the Seoul Chapter of Clothing Workers' Union who was in the office, pounded on the desk and shouted at us blaming us for any lack of education: "Tell me, what on earth do you know that makes you feel qualified to make a big fuss like this?"

'Whom Should We Trust?'

We are certainly uneducated. Deprived of a chance to study because of poverty, we have been despised and belittled as ignorant by society. We have been paying our union dues to the Headquarters out of our hard-earned, meager wages in an effort to gain whatever little intelligence becomes human beings. However, the very people



Sen. Daniel Moynihan addresses anti-imports rally organized by ILGWU bureaucrats. They join with bosses in blaming foreign workers for job losses.

who promised to work for us and make good use of the money looked down upon us saying that we are ignorant. We seriously wonder if the Chairman of the Textile Workers' Union is really worthy of being called a leader of a labor union, for this man while boasting of the large union membership of 150,000, looks down upon us female workers who make up more than 80 percent of the membership and on whom he depends for most of his livelihood. How can this be? Not only that, he even appointed company employees, the management's instruments, as directors of chapters, insisted on dividing the standing executive committee members equally between the management's yes-men and ordinary union members, resorted to a measure of cooptation to forcibly carry through elections, and made a remark that workers should be content with an increase in wages and would abstain from talking about workers' rights or human rights. We have been denied free access to the office at the Headquarters of the Textile Workers' Union that was built with our own money, and have been deceived by union leaders who are supposed to represent and fight for our rights. Whom should we trust and whom should we count on for help from now on?

We have finally made up our mind to regain our rights with our own hands, pledging to each other that we will keep fighting till the day when those at the Union Headquarters who claim to be our colleagues finish solving the problem at issue. So far they have been deliberately postponing the solution of the problem, simply to make us weary of waiting and force us to give up hope.

Now the atmosphere in the workshop is extremely rough, due to the heavy surveillance mounted by the company and also to the "educational" program the sole purpose of which is to prevent union members from meeting their representatives.

In the interests of more than 1,300 workers of Tongil Textile, and also of many other fellow female workers of the Textile Workers' Union, we are determined to expose the activities of the treacherous union leaders and denounce the management for its brutal measures of suppression. We are determined to do this at all costs.

After having been betrayed by the Union Headquarters, we issued an appeal demanding that the pains suffered by the workers should be properly compensated. Cavilling at a passage in the appeal—"is it really justifiable to dispose of the rights of young female workers who fought at the risk of their lives as lightly as they did? Previously we only heard about a type of people called labor aristocrats, but now we have had a chance to see in person who they are."—the union leaders are unabashedly suing us for libel. Is this what union leaders are supposed to do? The four million workers of south Korea cannot but lament over these shameless activities of

their leaders.

How is it possible for a sensible person to say that the leaders who have not even begun to reflect on their behavior are *not* labor aristocrats? Are we supposed to keep placing confidence in these leaders, who acted in sheer violation of Paragraph 3, Article 19 of the Labor Union Act which clearly stipulated that a collective agreement cannot be concluded without the prior consent of the general membership meeting or the board of representatives, and who act in disregard of and against the interests of the ordinary members? Are we supposed to leave these leaders to sit comfortably in their armchairs and trust them with the proper handling of our union dues?

'We Cannot Tolerate Any More'

We have already had enough of suppression. We cannot and ought not tolerate any more of it. We believe we should gather all our strength and energy left, and cry out in one huge voice of assertion that we, too, are human beings.

Lately, those in the Headquarters are trying to coopt and bribe our own leaders, and thereby to drive a wedge in our movement. They reign over the executive positions as they like, arbitrarily appointing this person as the Chief of the General Affairs Section, and that person as the Director of a chapter. A person who does not comply with such an appointment is immediately accused of having called them labor aristocrats and is threatened with expulsion from membership on the trumped-up charge of defamation.

Do you really think that we—who are determined, for the sake of conscience and responsibility, to fight to see the day when the problem at issue is completely dissolved, even at the cost of receiving cold treatment which is much colder than the midnight skies of 15-16 degrees centigrade below freezing—are a bunch of mesmerized female workers as they claim we are?

Is it true women are better off getting married and staying home? That we should not take part in the labor movement?

Is it true that our Union will really improve in "quality" if we let company employees, the management's yes-men, join our Union?

All that we want is to live as human beings. Poor and uneducated as we are, we learned through our labor union activities what democracy should be like.

Is there anything wrong with our understanding that it is an obligation of every human being to remain true to one's conscience and refuse to submit to injustice? And what about our determination to keep fighting through to the end?

Let us leave these questions to your sound judgment. And please let us enlist your heartfelt support and sympathy in our cause.

...Chicanos

Continued from page ISR/4

gunpoint onto cattle cars bound for Mexico in a program dubbed "Operation Wetback."

In 1933, however, the economy turned upward and the steel industry began hiring again. Many Chicanos and Blacks were hired. The economic upturn changed the mood of workers, instilling new willingness to fight.

The CIO is Formed

On October 8-9, 1935, the AFL held a national convention. Like several previous AFL gatherings, this one was marked by two sharp floor fights. John L. Lewis led a fight demanding that the AFL organize the predominantly unskilled workers in the mass-production industries such as steel, auto, and rubber. The second debate concerned the attitude of the AFL toward Black workers and the rights of Afro-American AFL members. As A. Philip Randolph of the all-Black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters pointed out, the two issues overlapped.

Toward the end of the convention, Randolph took the floor to demand that the convention be allowed to hear the report of the Committee of Five, which had been formed to investigate the conditions faced by Blacks in the unions.

Randolph led the fight on this issue, charging that the AFL Executive Council was trying to suppress the report. The report went further than previous reports to the AFL on this question, since it recommended some modest steps to rectify the racism of AFL unions. Discussion around the report offered a forum for a debate on the convention floor.

The only delegate from a union other than the Sleeping Car Porters who spoke in defense of Black workers was John Brophy of the UMW, a close aide of Lewis. Lewis and Brophy, to their credit, understood that the issues overlapped. The Afro-American and Chicano workers had become a permanent part of the industrial work force. If the AFL was going to carry out the industrial organizing drive Lewis was calling for, the federation's attitude toward nonwhites would have to change. However, the reactionary leaders of the AFL prevailed.

On November 9, 1935, John L. Lewis and representatives of seven other unions announced the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) as a committee of the AFL. Its purpose was to "encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass-production and unorganized industries."

When the AFL chieftains demanded that the CIO dissolve and were rebuffed, the split between

the advocates of industrial unionism and the narrow craft unionists of the Gompers type became a fact. Randolph refused to join Lewis in the CIO, however, claiming that he could better advance the interests of Blacks inside the AFL.

In Lewis's view, the main target of the CIO organizing campaign was the steel industry, which was economically linked to coal mining. In 1936 the CIO initiated the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), and its organizers entered the mills. The new role of nonwhite workers in the CIO unions was typified by developments in steel.

SWOC's declaration that it would seek to organize and represent all steelworkers, regardless of race or nationality, met with a favorable response from Chicano and Black steelworkers. The presence of Black and Chicano organizers in the field hastened recruitment to SWOC.

The importance of Chicano and *mexicano* workers in the rise of SWOC was shown in the organizing drive at U.S. Steel's South Works, Chicago, plant.

Organizing at South Works

The Associated Employees of South Works (AESW) had been set up in 1935 as a company union. However, AESW President George Patterson was won over to industrial unionism and set out to transform AESW into a fighting force.

His initial attempts met with little success, both because of the stigma of a company union and employer resistance. One evening in 1935 while Patterson was at home he received an unexpected visitor. Alfred Avila, a Chicano who had immigrated from Mexico, came to offer assistance. Patterson gladly accepted.

Together with his wife, Avila began to assemble a small group of friends to help build the union. They were the first Chicano organizers in the Chicago-Gary area.

The character of the union began to change as Chicano workers responded enthusiastically to the organizing drive. They participated disproportionately in organizing activities and union meetings. Spanish as well as English was spoken at the meetings, and the union publications were issued in both languages. (Polish was also added as more Polish-speaking workers affiliated to the union.)

In 1936 the Associated Employees voted to affiliate with SWOC. It became the first union in the Chicago-Gary area to do so.

The first elections were held under its new charter as Local 65, a designation it retains to this day. Avila was elected to the executive board and served on the first bargaining committee after U.S. Steel recognized the union. Other

Chicanos also sought and won office.

In March 1937 U.S. Steel and its many subsidiaries signed a contract with SWOC recognizing it as the sole bargaining agent for workers at its plants. The 1936 sitdowns in the auto industry had helped persuade the U.S. Steel bosses to make this concession. But this victory would not have been possible without the policy succinctly stated by Minnie Ingersoll, president of the South Works Auxiliary of SWOC:

"The policy of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee as it applies to both the union and auxiliary is to organize *all* regardless of their race, color, creed or nationality. These same steel barons who exploit the Mexican, Polish, and Negro workers exploit alike the native-born American worker."

The victory at U.S. Steel infuriated the capitalist masters of "Little Steel," but it also strengthened their resolve to fight the union. "Little Steel" was comprised of Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Inland Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Weirton Steel—the second through the fifth largest producers of steel in the country. Together they employed 186,000 workers. On May 26, 1937, the "Little Steel" strike began in a major effort by SWOC to break the antiunion resistance of these firms. About 75,000 of the "Little Steel" workers were affected.

Mexicanos and Chicanos played particularly active roles. When professional strikebreakers were sent in to break up a picket line in front of the Inland Steel plant in Chicago, they were given the warning, "Watch out for the Mexicans." Inland Steel at the time was one of the single largest private employers of Raza in the country. At times the pickets in front of their Chicago plant were 75 percent *mexicano* and Chicano.

Bureaucrats' Strategy

The capitalists used massive violence in attempting to break the strike. The Senate Civil Liberties Committee later revealed that "Little Steel" had spent in excess of \$178,000 on weapons, tear gas, and nausea gas. Over the course of the strike eighteen workers were killed. Yet SWOC President Philip Murray and the Communist Party, which played an important role in SWOC, in no way prepared the strikers for an effective defense.

SWOC suffered from bureaucratic rigidity from the start. Its top officers were appointed, and steelworkers did not get even a formal voice in their selection until 1942. While John L. Lewis, Murray's mentor, understood the need to organize on an industrial basis and to break from Jim Crow unionism, he had not broken from the class-collaborationist outlook of the AFL bureaucrats.

Supporting Roosevelt's reelection in 1936, John L. Lewis said, ". . . labor has gained more under President Roosevelt than under any president. Obviously it is the duty of labor to support Roosevelt 100 percent." Thus the CIO, including SWOC, committed themselves firmly to the "New Deal" Democratic Party, supporting its candidates and relying on it as a defender of workers' rights.

In the face of the brutal violence of the bosses the SWOC national leadership and the Communist Party appealed to "New Deal" Democratic governors to end the violence. They called on Roosevelt to repay his campaign debts to labor by forcing the companies to negotiate in good faith.

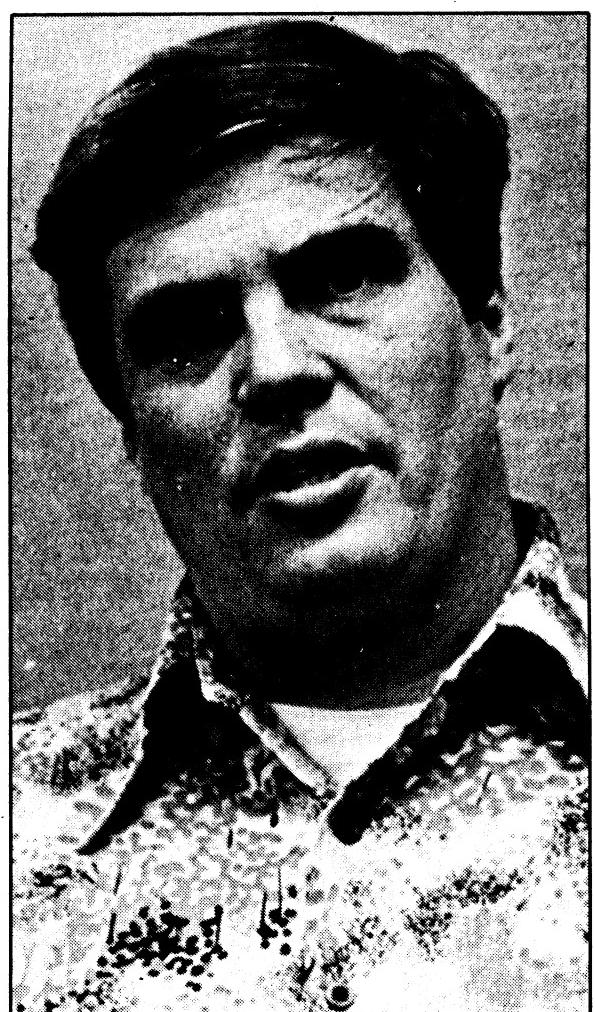
Roosevelt sent no aid. The thought never entered the millionaire Democrat's head.

But the National Guard and state troopers did come. Sent by the Democratic governors of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and hailed by the top union leaders, they came with bayonets and bullets for the strikers.

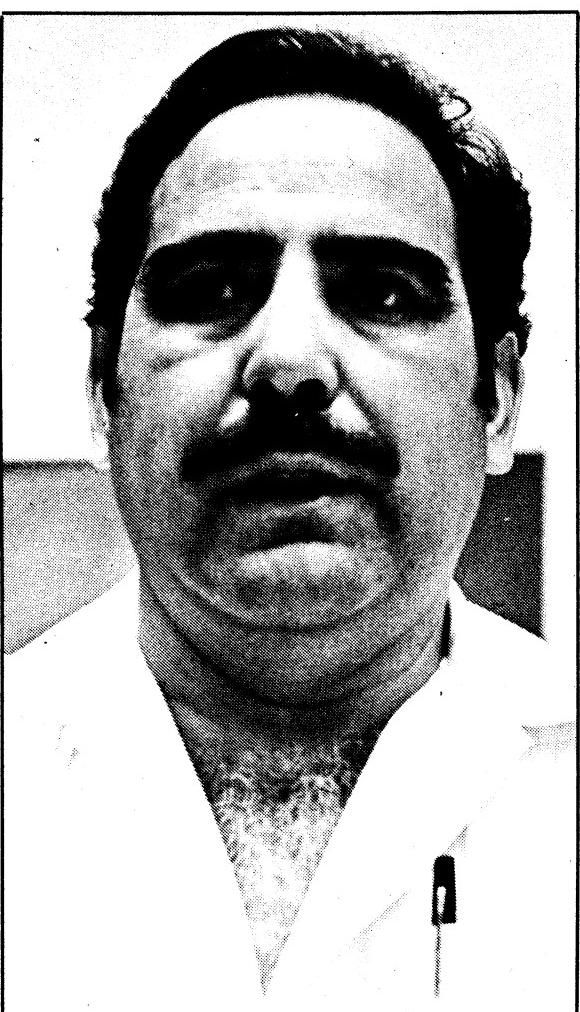
Memorial Day Massacre

On May 30, 1937, about 1,500 strikers—men, women, and children—were peacefully demonstrating in front of the Republic Steel plant in Chicago. A Republic steelworker, Max Guzman, was one of the two flag-bearers for the marchers. Suddenly 200 cops opened fire with tear gas shells. As the demonstrators retreated, the cops began to empty their revolvers into the crowd. The Memorial Day Massacre had begun.

The steelworkers and their supporters fled in



ED SADLOWSKI and 'NASH' RODRIGUEZ: in the February elections of the United Steelworkers union, these Steelworkers Fight Back candidates criticized the AFL-CIO anti-immigrant campaign.



terror. The cops followed, firing as they ran, laughing and joking as they shot and clubbed the demonstrators. Ten strikers died that day, and forty others were wounded—all shot in the back. More than 100 people were beaten by police clubs.

La Raza had stood in the front ranks of the pickets. One cop described the marchers as looking like "the Mexican army." That day three *mexicanos* and Chicanos died and eleven were injured. It is not known how many of them were citizens, how many held immigration papers, or how many had come into the United States "illegally." One thing is clear: they were motivated by the same desire as other workers to struggle and sacrifice to organize the industry.

The "Little Steel" strike ended in a defeat, not because the strikers lacked courage and determination or because they had been divided by racism, but because of the class-collaborationist illusions of the national SWOC leadership. As a result, union recognition was not won in "Little Steel" until the Second World War.

The gains that Chicanos made through the CIO were important. Through the efforts of Black and Chicano unionists and their allies, workers of the oppressed nationalities firmly established themselves in the industrial unions, shattering the tradition of Jim Crow unionism. Barriers to holding office—especially at the local level—were broken down. A substantial degree of union protection was gained for the jobs and working conditions of nonwhite workers. Valuable experience was gained in organizing.

Labor Retreats

In many areas such as Birmingham, Alabama, and Pueblo, Colorado, segregated seating and all-white leadership remained the rule in the unions. Although there were significant gains in wages, little progress was made toward equality in the key areas of job promotion and shift scheduling. Although unions gave employed nonwhites greater security, they remained the last hired and the first fired.

The rise of the CIO, including SWOC, was part of the social and political radicalization of the thirties and forties and, as such represented the hope and possibility of a better life to Chicanos, as well as to workers of other oppressed nationalities. Their friendly response to the CIO was prepared by positive experiences with non-AFL unions in the West in previous decades, and by the growth of unionism and radicalism in Mexico.

Chicano workers generally had confidence in the leaders of the CIO and expected them to defend their interests, along with those of all other workers. But this did not happen.

During the Second World War, the CIO bureaucrats headed by Philip Murray, together with the Communist Party, restricted union democracy and systematically blocked the defense of minority rights in the interests of uniting with the bosses in the war effort. With the onset of the cold war, the bureaucratization of the unions deepened and they beat a steady retreat on civil rights issues, restricting themselves to verbal support of an increasingly soft-spoken variety. As Gompers had done in an earlier day, the union bureaucrats rested on the support of a layer of high-seniority white workers, and sought to protect the privileges of this layer against nonwhite workers.

For this reason they presently oppose affirmative-action programs and modifications in seniority systems that would help end the last-hired, first-fired status of nonwhite workers.

Union Tops

History does not repeat itself, but some betrayals can be repeated. Like Gompers and the old AFL, the union bureaucrats of today express their subordination to the capitalists and their defense of inequality by standing in the forefront of the ruling-class campaign against immigrant *mexicano* and other Latino workers.

Instead of organizing these workers and guaranteeing them the protection of the union movement, leaders such as George Meany, Lloyd McBride, and Douglas Fraser wave the Stars and Stripes, claiming that they defend the jobs and



Supporters of the "Little Steel" strike were gunned down and beaten in the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937.

wages of "American" (that is, white) workers by calling for the persecution of Mexican immigrants. They falsely accuse the undocumented workers of driving down wages, blocking unionization, and "stealing" jobs.

If this policy is not reversed, it could re-create the situation that led to the defeat of the "Great Steel Strike" of 1919, by creating a section of the work force that has no other alternative than to work under whatever conditions the capitalists wish to impose. That is the aim of Carter's legislation on undocumented workers, which is supported by the AFL-CIO officialdom. The two rocks on which the struggles of American labor have too often foundered, racism and class collaborationism, are still there and need to be removed.

While the unions today generally take a racist stand toward Chicano and *mexicano* workers, there are exceptions that deserve to be noted. Such examples show that fighting for a change in course by the unions can have beneficial results.

Signs of Change

In the 1960s, the United Farm Workers began a drive to organize the migrant agricultural workers, who had lived as semislaves of agribusiness. These Chicano and *mexicano* workers responded enthusiastically to the chance to fight for equality, a decent life, and pride in themselves and their people.

However, UFW President César Chávez took a reactionary stance toward the rights of undocumented workers, a stand similar to that of George Meany. He called for *la migra* to remove undocumented workers from the fields, claiming that this would remove an obstacle to organizing farm workers.

The result was the opposite. Chávez's stand divided the farm workers, while *la migra* helped

the growers intimidate Chicano and *mexicano* unionists. Experience and widespread protests against Chávez's policy led him to reverse it at the August 1975 UFW convention. The executive board proposed a resolution stating: "This organization urges the exactment of legislation granting amnesty to all illegal workers. If growers can bring illegal workers to this country for the purpose of exploiting them, then we can organize illegal workers to liberate them."

More recently an important opposition group developed around the February 1977 elections held in the United Steel Workers of America. Its candidates, including Ed Sadlowski, Ignacio "Nash" Rodríguez, and others received 250,000 votes (42 percent) against the bureaucracy's slate headed by Lloyd McBride.

In the course of his campaign for the Steelworkers' presidency, Sadlowski stated that the union must defend the rights of undocumented workers and that workers should look at themselves as "citizens of the world." He added, "I don't believe we should have fences around this country."

Sadlowski's point expresses the basic interests of all workers. The task of the USWA, as of other unions, is to defend all workers, documented or undocumented, white, Black, Asian, or Chicano. That means defending not only the job rights but all the civil and human rights of oppressed minorities.

The stand the unions take on undocumented workers—like their stand on affirmative action and other struggles against racism—will be a test of their capacity to defend the interests of workers in the years ahead. History has shown that the fight for the rights of undocumented workers, and of all workers of the oppressed nationalities, is the fight for the rights of the working class.

'We Are Struggling to Free Ourselves'

The following article is reprinted from the first issue of Asian Women's Liberation dated May 1977. Asian Women's Liberation is published by the Asian Women's Liberation Committee in Japan and can be obtained by writing care of Goto Masako, 147 Kenjukosha, 112 Sakuragaoka, Hodogay-ku, Yokohama-shi, Kanagawa-ken, Japan.

On February 6, 1977 women workers from Tongil Textile Company in Inchon, south Korea held a meeting with the support of several social organizations to evaluate their long, hard struggle against the inhumane treatment of the management and the indifference of the company-controlled trade union. The following is a full text of the appeal they made public at the meeting translated from the Japanese edition of the National Times (Minjok Shibo), March 25, 1977. Tongil Textile is one of the leading textile companies in south Korea, is capitalized at 1.5 billion won (around US\$15 million), and produces cotton yarn, blended yarn and cotton fabric mainly for export.

Listen to us poor workers who only seek a decent living in the face of the indifference of society and the oppression of capitalists. We appeal to those who truly wish to see freedom and equality in this society to support us in our lonely struggle to distinguish righteousness from irrationality and to recover our human rights and strengthen the voices of criticism against those who trample us down, betray, deceive and despise us as ignorant.

As there were not just one or two workers among us who were treated unfairly, we united in spite of the uncertainties, to demand our rights and to denounce the evils of society.

We, the workers of Tongil Textile Company in Inchon, south Korea, were deeply hurt by the cunning policy of the company to transform our union into the company's puppet union at the time of the election of the labor union delegates one year ago.

'Stifling Existence'

Our life in the factory is really miserable. Ours is a confined, stifling existence on the job—prohibited from talking to the workers next to us, poorly fed, not allowed to even go to toilet when necessary. The company side oppresses us by intervening in our personal lives. After work is over, we are not free to take part in club activities which were originally set up for us. We are endlessly plagued by lung tuberculosis, athlete's foot, and various stomach diseases. Women workers have yellow, swollen faces from inadequate sunlight. We were also tormented by temperatures of 40 (Centigrade) degrees and by dust. We are harassed by the close supervision and pressing demands of the company. Those who are active in union activities are oppressed. We are struggling to free ourselves from these miserable conditions which are too many to enumerate.

In 1972, in spite of all the obstructions of the company, we elected a woman chairman of our labor union and formed an executive for a true union for workers, something unprecedented in this country. We took pride in our union. In 1975, we again elected a woman chairman. But in 1976 the company intervened in the election of delegates and kept at us with threats and reprisals. Mobilizing anti-union elements, the company itself recommended persons it could control, used them to abort the annual congress, and forced members during work hours to sign up to support the anti-organization elements. On the other hand, the company harassed active members and delegates, suspended job assignments, changed sections and job positions. The company instigated male headmen to give trouble to the active members. Finally it forced the members to resign "voluntarily."

Prior to the congress, the company side, with the help of the anti-organization elements, kidnapped the delegates, and forcefully asked them



Union heads say American workers need import quotas to beat back competition from low-paid foreign workers. Instead of trying to push foreign workers out of jobs, the unions should be supporting efforts by workers like these Korean women to organize and better their conditions.

to dismiss the congress. They used dirty methods to prevent members and delegates from attending the congress. But those delegates who wanted to get ahead in the company were supported by the company, given alcohol, money and clothes; the company arranged for active delegates to take care of their families. The former took the latter to hotels overnight and ordered them to do what the company said. They used to use violent, intimidating language and action to the women union officials. On the pretext of the congress, they excused members from work and took them out on a picnic thus aborting the congress. These people are puppets who are indifferent to the pains of workers! We were determined not to let our union fall to those puppets. We could not retreat after six months of oppression by the company and its schemes to suppress the labor union.

Sit-in Strike

On 23 July last year (1976), the company nailed up the door of the dormitory and closed the gate of the company so that members of the union could not move at all, and police took away the chairman. All these movements were to railroad the congress and make sure only anti-organization elements would be there. We staged a sit-in and protested the cruelty of the company. We continued a hunger strike for three days in the heat of mid-summer until our throats were dried up and our stomachs aching with hunger. We collapsed. Our water line was cut. We felt ourselves losing consciousness.

From outside, our parents and fellow members tried to bring in water and ice cubes. But the guardmen of the company knocked them down, kicked old parents and dragged them around, used abusive language and called them idiots. On the evening of the 25th, our parents staged a sit-in outside the company to protest. Then barbed wire was put up between our parents and us. Workers in blue fatigues fell and rolled on the ground and some of us continued shouting slogans unceasingly for three days.

We were completely exhausted. Police rushed into the company with a truck to disperse the struggle. We were determined to protest and not to be taken away. We took off our clothes and were half-naked. We sang the union song, our clothes in our hands. Even now we feel that song echoing in our hearts.

Though guardmen, police and other company employees beat us with police clubs, trampled us, dragged us by the hair, and pushed us into a truck, we broke windows to try to free ourselves. We crept under the truck to stop it, but we were kicked and lost consciousness. 72 of us were taken to the police station, and over 50 out of those 72 lost consciousness; 14 were taken to the hospital. We were beaten and bruised all over. Two who were taken to the hospital did not recover consciousness. Over 200 members rushed to the police station to demand that all the arrested be released, and over 300 people went to the headquarters of the Seoul Textile Labor

Continued on ISR/9

Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



Continued from page 10

such questions a socially critical attitude. Jon Hillson's review of the Muhammad Ali-Earnie Shavers fight in the October 21 *Militant* falls way below that minimum standard.

It is one thing to point to Ali as a symbol of Blacks and an opponent of racism whose courage is to be praised. With that, no one can argue.

But surely it is incumbent upon a revolutionary newspaper to characterize professional boxing for what it is: a disgusting example of what passes for "sport" in a decaying class society. How else can Marxists view the practice of hiring strong men to beat each other, occasionally to death, in front of spectators who pay a substantial price for the privilege? Does it take great insight to see in this a symbol of the callous brutality which typifies "civilization" in capitalist America?

I refer comrade Hillson to the pithy words written by James P. Cannon in response to the death of a boxer in the ring in 1951: "It is a commentary on the times and the social environment in which the boxing business rises like a poisonous flower from a dunghill, that nobody came forward with the simple demand to outlaw prize fighting. . . . Blows over the head never did anybody any good. And if anybody ever got any fun out of it, he hasn't been heard from yet." (*Notebook of an Agitator*, pp. 260-261).

Bret Smiley
Toronto, Canada

Prisoner requests sub

I recently read a copy of your paper and was very interested in it. I am currently under the death sentence, so I am unable to appropriate funds. I would like to request a free subscription to your paper.

This would really be appreciated. Things get extremely difficult on death row, and your paper would really help.

A prisoner
Walla Walla, Washington

The Militant's special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Beautiful piece of work

I don't know that much about photography, but I think the photography by Anne Teesdale on the back page of the October 7 issue of the *Militant* [with the article, 'Women's rights battle brews for IWY meet'] is a beautiful piece of work. In fact, the longer one looks at it the better it gets.

Tom Taskonis
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Dear Judy Carter,

I read your article in the October issue of *Redbook* magazine, "Why Nice Women Should Speak Out for ERA." The list of supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, the bibliography for information, and your general appeal for support to get the ERA ratified are all useful.

But I and many others resent your description of the women's movement as "a group of shouting, aggressive, bra-burning 'women's libbers.'" Judy, you attack the women's movement in the name of supporting the ERA!

Enemies of women's rights portray us as "bra-burning libbers" to belittle the seriousness and urgency of what women are fighting for. Why didn't you say that? Instead, you seem to accept the caricature and then go on to say that "nice" women can support the ERA anyway, without getting contaminated by feminists.

You write that it is a "serious problem" that pro-ERA women appear to be "demanding and strident in their support."

But admit it. It was only when we began marching down the streets by the thousands, "aggressive," "shouting" our "strident" demands, that the ERA was finally passed in Congress. Women had been ever so "nice" and patient for decades.

You write that "lobbying is the name of the game" and that women should do things like send money "for electing pro-ERA legislators." You assure women that "in the back of every politician's mind is the possibility of being removed from office when a more acceptable candidate comes along. Your legislator needs to treat you kindly even if you don't see eye to eye."

But those Nevada legislators, to take just one

example, didn't treat women at all kindly when the ERA came up for a vote there this year. And women even thought they did see eye to eye with them. Women lobbied. They gave backing to their "friends."

And eleven of those supposedly pro-ERA legislators took money from ERA supporters and then voted against the ERA! (Those eleven backstabbers were Democrats, by the way, just like your father-in-law Jimmy.)

It's experiences like that, Judy, that convince women we have to depend on ourselves. That's why we need to organize those "strident" marches and rallies.

You wince about "the pro-ERA groups that also support some unrelated and far more controversial issues." What do you mean by that? Are you talking about our defense of women's right to abortion or the rights of our lesbian sisters?

Take a cue from women's opponents, from Phyllis Schlafly, Anita Bryant, and the like. None of them have dropped their efforts against abortion or gay rights to pursue their anti-ERA campaign. They understand that the issues are very much related.

Those of us who are for women's rights dare not abandon our 300,000 sisters who will be denied the right to choose abortion because Medicaid funding is cut off, nor the lesbians who face discrimination.

I liked the concluding paragraph in your article: "We are living in an era of great historical importance for women. The next few months will be crucial in the struggle for equal rights. It is up to the majority, silent until now, to make it a reality. . . ."

But to make equal rights a reality, we cannot, as your article attempts to do, divide the ERA from the women's movement.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



Why I am running

The following article by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, was run on the "Op-Ed" page of the October 8 "New York Times." It was one of a series of articles on "The Race for City Hall" by New York City mayoral candidates.

The blackout again spotlighted the immense poverty in New York City. Under cover of darkness, the poor retrieved a small part of what they needed. Newspapers and politicians labeled them "animals" and "criminals."

But who are the *real* criminals? Those who took a box of Pampers? Or bankers who gouge profits from us while millions, especially blacks and Hispanics, are forced to inhabit dilapidated housing? Are the real criminals those who grabbed a shirt or the politicians who laid off thousands of city employees and closed hospitals, schools and day-care centers?

Look at the facts. Two years ago, New Yorkers were asked to sacrifice while the local government "straightened out" the city's financial crisis. Since then, the city has cut 66,000 jobs, with the number of teachers slashed by 15,000. Hundreds of hospital beds were eliminated, and day-care programs closed. *Eighty-six percent* of black youth under 20 were unemployed this June. These cuts hit the black and Puerto Rican communities hardest.

The capitalist candidates for Mayor don't blame the rich for the fiscal crisis. Some blame it on overspending for labor costs, although the 1970 census reported the median wage for men in New York City as \$7,679, and less for women, blacks and Puerto Ricans. Some blame welfare, although city welfare payments aver-

age out to a meager \$2.15 a day. Some blame "soft living," although the services cut or eliminated are necessary: free tuition at the City University of New York, health care at city hospitals, bilingual education, decent sanitation service, and safe, efficient mass transit.

New York's financial problems don't come from "bloated" social services. This crisis was caused by a system that prioritizes money for the Pentagon and the banks' debt service before our needs.

In contrast, I say, "Human needs first!" Our tax dollars should not go to the already rich bankers but should be used for the needs of working people.

As individuals, we can do little. But together we can fight for our rights: a job, an adequate income, free education and medical care, a clean environment—for the right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs and the right of women to full equality.

When residents of the South Bronx fought to keep Lincoln Hospital open; when CUNY students fought for free tuition; when blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chinese on the Lower East Side fight for control of their schools; when unionists strike for better contracts; when women fight for safe, legal abortion; when gays fight for gay-rights legislation; when Queens residents fight against the Concorde—they fight the Democratic and Republican politicians. Why fight *against* them during the year, and then vote for them on election day?

I am running for Mayor to offer a working-class alternative in these elections. The Democratic, Republican, Conservative and Liberal parties represent bankers and rich businessmen, not the majority of New Yorkers, who are working people. Our interests are different from their interests. It is in our interest to fight for expanded social services; it is in their interest to cut services and expand their profits.

Working people need a party that represents them. We need a labor party which could put the full power of the labor movement into our struggle.

We are a party of working people who seek to replace rule by the rich minority with rule by the majority; we stand for a socialist society in which human needs are always placed before profits.

Interview with Olga Rodríguez

'Carter's immigration scheme

The following interview with Olga Rodríguez was obtained in San Antonio by Harry Ring.

Question. What does the Carter administration propose to do in relation to undocumented immigrants?

Answer. Well, the biggest media focus has been on Carter's so-called amnesty provision, which the White House is trying to make sound really generous. But it's phony.

For instance, take those people who will qualify for permanent residence status. To be eligible for this, you must prove you've been in this country continuously since before January 1, 1970.

It's no wonder that Leonel Castillo [director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service] predicted before the plan was unveiled that it would "shock" people when they realized how few would qualify for this "amnesty." He estimated it would be only 500,000, and that's probably a generous estimate.

Of course, it's not even an amnesty for the much larger group that came in after January 1970 but before January 1977. Carter says he'll let them stay for five years and work. After that? He'll see. If business needs a lot of cheap labor, maybe he'll let them stay. If not—out!

But the most incredible thing is that these people would be here *without any rights*. They would, of course, pay taxes like every one else. But they would not be entitled to anything in return!

These are Carter's own words, in his August 4 message to Congress:

"Temporary resident aliens would not have the right to vote, to run for public office or to serve on juries; nor would they be entitled to bring members of their families into the U.S. . . . Unlike permanent resident aliens, temporary resident aliens would be ineligible to receive such Federal social services as Medicaid, Food Stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Supplementary Security income."

And it's a sure bet that the states and cities wouldn't waste a minute passing similar laws.

Legalizes status quo

What the Carter plan does is legalize the status quo: immigrants remain second-class people, a huge pool of docile and cheap labor.

Right now, undocumented immigrants don't have any rights because they're supposedly not here at all—they're nonpersons. Carter proposes to recognize that they're here, but still treat them as nonpersons. They won't have the same rights under the law that other people have.

In some European countries immigrant workers are already in a similar category. They are called "guest" workers. A better word would be prisoners.

That's what's so disgusting about the way Carter

Long-time Chicana activist

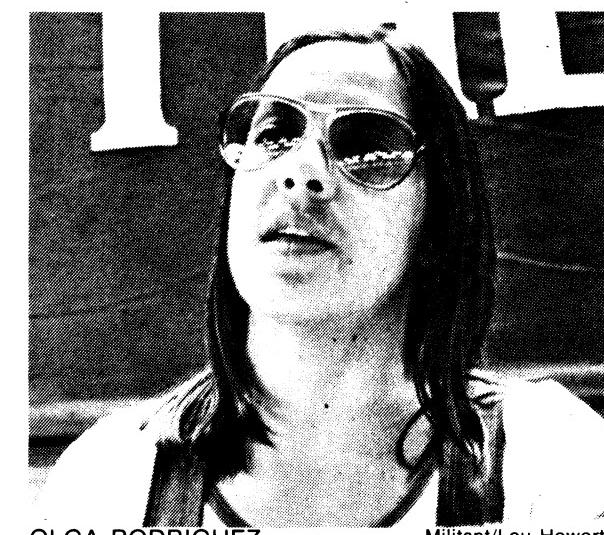
President Carter's proposal for a legislative crackdown on immigrants without work or residence permits has evoked a largely negative response among Chicanos.

One of those who have made a serious study of the plan is Olga Rodríguez, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Born in Brownsville, Texas, Rodríguez grew up in the Rio Grande Valley. She has been active in the Chicano movement for more than a decade and is now the SWP's director of Chicano liberation activity and a member of its national committee.

She was the socialist candidate for mayor of Los Angeles in 1974 and ran for governor of California in 1975.

Rodríguez edited the recently published book, *Politics of Chicano Liberation*.



talks about amnesty. He's going to "forgive" people, give them "amnesty."

What crime did they commit? Coming here to make a living? Doing useful work? Is that a crime? The criminals are the thieving employers and their cops and politicians who abuse and exploit these people.

Q. What are some of the other key features of the plan?

A. One is Carter's proposal to add "a minimum" of 2,000 cops to the Border Patrol—doubling the present number.

Bosses won't suffer

And, to really tighten the noose, Carter wants to make it illegal to hire undocumented workers. That might sound like it's directed against the employers, but it's not.

The plan is riddled with loopholes to ensure that bosses won't suffer. They can get off the hook by claiming that they didn't know their employees were "illegal." And they can't be fined unless there's a "pattern" of such hiring.

Actually, by giving employers a green light to snoop into the background of their employees—supposedly to make sure they're not "illegal"—it makes it that much easier for them to finger those workers who have no legal rights and are therefore subject to the most brutal intimidation and exploitation.

If a worker gets out of line, the boss just turns them in, saying he just "found out" they were "illegals."

Sure, some bosses won't take a chance on hiring

people without papers. They'll simply refuse to hire anyone who looks "illegal." You know who that is—anyone with a brown skin.

Q. Have all the important points in the plan been reported?

A. No. One important thing they slipped in is that the plan would also cut back on "legal" migration.

Impact on Mexico

"The State Department," Carter told Congress, "will increase its visa issuance resources abroad to ensure that foreign citizens attempting to enter this country will be doing so within the requirements of the immigration laws."

That's telling the Mexican people and others, "You think you had to go through the wringer up to now to get a visa? You ain't seen nothing yet."

Q. To get back to the U.S. aspect, what about the threat of computerized identification cards for all workers? Originally that was supposed to be in the plan, but then Carter said he was dropping it.

A. That's not quite the way it is. What they said is that they're dropping it *for now*.

But actually, they're moving in that direction. For instance, they've already introduced a "counterfeit proof" ID card for "legal aliens." It's exactly the kind of coded, computerized card with a picture that they eventually want all of us to carry.

Then, in the message to Congress, Carter said he wants strict enforcement of new regulations to make Social Security cards more difficult to forge.

But the Social Security card isn't supposed to be an ID card—just a slip of paper to remind you of your number.

Seal the border?

Q. What's really behind all this? Big business needs a lot of low-wage labor in this country, doesn't it? So does Carter really want to seal the border?

A. Not exactly. There are two things involved.

One is the labor supply. The other is heading off the social and political dangers of an uncontrolled migration from Latin America.

The rulers' overall solution is to impose much tighter control over the unofficial immigration—to reduce it, but not to cut it off altogether. And they want to control much more tightly the immigrants who are already here.

Just consider. Right now they say we're back in a period of prosperity after the 1973-74 depression. But we still have an official jobless rate of nearly 7 percent.

And that's the *average*. For Chicanos, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, the figure is at least double. In major cities, the unemployment rate among minority youth is as high as 90 percent!

The capitalists believe that with this kind of unemployment they may be able to force many U.S. citizens to take jobs that in the past only undocumented immigrants would take.

Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, one of the brains behind the Carter plan, explained this to the *Los Angeles Times* just a few weeks after Carter

Our party is your party

Want to know more?

You can find out more about the Socialist Workers Party by: 1) subscribing to the weekly *Militant* or twice-monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*; 2) contacting any SWP branch listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31; or 3) reading the books and pamphlets listed below, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

- *Prospects for Socialism in America* ed. by Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters, \$2.95
- *The Politics of Chicano Liberation* ed. by Olga Rodríguez, \$2.45.
- *Puerto Ricans in the U.S.: the Struggle for Freedom* ed. by Catarino Garza, \$1.25
- *Chicano Liberation and Socialism* by Miguel Pendás, 25 cents.

If you agree with what Olga Rodríguez has to say, then you should think about joining the Socialist Workers Party.

Our party is a party of working people like you—men and women; Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites. We are dedicated to abolishing the oppressive capitalist system and replacing it with a worldwide socialist society that puts human needs before private profit.

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- I would like more information.
- I would like a ten-week subscription to the *Militant* (\$2 enclosed).
- I would like a three-month subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* (\$2 enclosed).

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

is an attack on all workers'

took office. Marshall said:

"The crucial question is whether those illegal aliens are taking jobs that domestic workers will not take. I say domestic workers will take them."

Maintaining racism

But the Carter scheme goes a lot deeper than just ebbs and flows in the labor market. I think it relates to the rulers' determination to maintain racial oppression in this country. They know that without racism, the profit system in this country could not last.

They are scared by the continued growth of the Latino population in this country. They fear Brown power.

I discussed this question in a report on the deportation fight that I gave to the Socialist Workers Party convention this past August. [The report was published in the October *International Socialist Review*, the monthly magazine supplement to the *Militant*.]

In that report, I referred to a special study commissioned by the State Department under Henry Kissinger on the problem of undocumented immigration. There's one point in this report, by a Prof. Arthur Corwin, that's worth quoting again.

Corwin warned the government:

"If there is a continuation in the present near-breakdown in border control . . . in one or two generations half of Texas could become a 'Chicano Quebec,' under a separate political arrangement. The same phenomenon could conceivably happen in regions of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and southern California as the 'reconquest of Aztlán' unfolds."

To drive home the reality of such a prospect—so frightening to the racist rulers—Professor Corwin simply points to the Raza Unida Party administrations in Crystal City and Zavala County, Texas, as a small preview of what could be in store.

This professor warns that unchecked immigration from Mexico would eventually erase the border. I think that's a great idea!

Taxes and welfare

Q. What about the argument that immigrants add to the tax burden by collecting welfare and other benefits?

A. First of all, they pay taxes like everyone else. They have to. It's taken out of their wages. That is, except in those cases where the boss deducts the tax and then pockets it.

As far as welfare is concerned, that's strictly phony propaganda. In Los Angeles County they made a study and found that only one half of one percent of aliens collecting welfare were "illegal."

That's not surprising. People living in fear of deportation aren't likely to go down to the government office to collect welfare. It's an outrage that when they need welfare, they're not able to get it. But the hard fact is that precious few undocumented people do.

It's all part of keeping immigrants tied to the dirtiest, lowest-paying, most rotten jobs.

In 1975, *migra* agents picked up 190,000 people who had jobs. Of that 190,000 the INS said, 134,000 were working for less than the legal minimum wage. That's two out of every three.

Even Castillo, who's supposed to give *la migra* a better image, blurted out the truth in one interview. On July 13 he told the *Los Angeles Times*:

"Some parts of the U.S. economy make a lot of money off the aliens. Some companies hire them and don't pay them much. From that perspective it's good. It increases the gross national product, holds down wages and holds down prices."

I don't know about holding down prices, but he's got a point about the wages. That's why some employer and grower representatives in Congress are a little uneasy about the Carter plan.

Q. The Carter plan has generated a lot of opposition, particularly in the Chicano community. How do you account for this?

A. Well, the Carter plan is certainly relevant for those with "legal" status here—Chicanos and others. They need jobs, housing, decent education for their kids. Many of them are beginning to see that the Carter administration is doing less than nothing about these problems.

And many are coming to recognize that getting *la migra* after their even more unfortunate *mexicano*



Border cops herding immigrants back to Mexico

brothers and sisters isn't going to solve any of their problems.

Also, I think some of the traditional Chicano organizations, like LULAC [League of United Latin American Citizens] and GI Forum, are getting fed up. They campaigned for Carter, and I think they feel they've been shafted. The only significant appointment of a Chicano in the administration has been Castillo, and a brown-skinned *migra* cop isn't the greatest thing to write home about. These organizations have their constituencies to answer to, and Jimmy isn't giving them much to talk about.

Outside of Castillo, I don't know of a single Chicano or Latino public figure who has endorsed the Carter plan. This president is really uniting our people.

Q. This is probably the first time that groups like LULAC became involved in a coalition effort on an issue like opposition to the Carter plan. What do you think can result from this?

A. I think it's a wonderful development. Of course, as they would be the first to tell you, groups like LULAC and GI Forum are very moderate in their outlook. But they do have significant support in the community. LULAC, for example, reports it has 65,000 members in Texas alone. That means antideportation activists have the opportunity to reach many of these people and involve them actively in the fight against the Carter plan.

Q. Socialist Workers Party members have worked very hard in building this coalition against the Carter plan. What do you hope to see achieved as a result of this effort?

A. We want to see a broad, ongoing coalition that can wage an effective fight to win full rights for the undocumented.

Now that's going to take some doing. We're taking on powerful forces, and we're not going to defeat the Carter administration unless we develop real political muscle. So we need the help of everyone who opposes the Carter plan and is willing to do something about it.

That means first of all *mexicanos* and Chicanos. But it means a lot more too. There are sizeable communities of other Latinos in the United States who are up against *la migra*—Dominicans, Costa Ricans, others. Obviously, they have to be involved.

There are others who may not be as directly affected but who recognize that all working people are hurt by the Carter plan. That includes Black people and Anglos.

Chicanos need to build our own independent base, that's for sure. But we also need to build powerful alliances on common issues with others. And where there are Anglos, Blacks, or others ready to fight for the same thing we are, it would be foolish to turn our backs on them. We need all the help we can get.

Q. And what about beyond the Carter plan? What kind of immigration policy do you, as a socialist, support?

A. None at all. I want to see all the immigration quotas scrapped. I know that may sound like a radical idea, demanding an open border. But why not? It used to be that way. Do you realize that it wasn't until the 1920s that this country had any immigration quotas? And quotas for countries in the Western hemisphere weren't established until 1965.

Now it is true, they used all kinds of regulations and red tape to keep people out, but they didn't have quotas.

And they can put aside those quotas when they want. In the early sixties they scrapped the Cuban quota. When they set out to break the Cuban revolution, they said that any Cuban who wanted to come here was welcome. They didn't care how many.

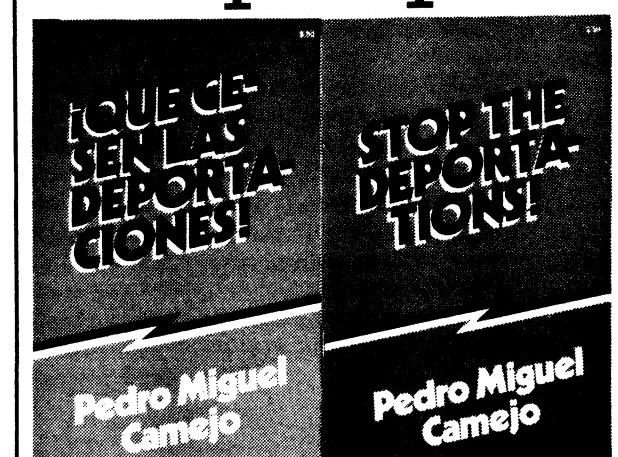
So, if we could have an open border between Cuba and the United States, why not with other countries?

Q. What else do you want?

A. We want full rights for all immigrants, with or without papers. That means full social, economic, and political rights.

And we want to change the exploitative relationship between this country and Latin America. Opening the border would be a big step toward establishing a relationship of equality instead of imperialist strangulation.

New pamphlet



NEW YORK—Pathfinder Press has announced that *¡Que Cesen las Deportaciones!/Stop the Deportations!* by Pedro Miguel Camejo is off the press. Pathfinder Managing Editor Doug Jenness said, "This is the first book or pamphlet that we know of that takes on the Carter plan." Jenness added that the pamphlet is a first for Pathfinder in another way—it's first bilingual publication. The pamphlet is available for fifty cents (thirty cents each on orders of ten or more) from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Coast-to-coast events publicize conference

By José G. Pérez

During October antideportation activists have held forums, conferences, and fund raising events from one coast to the other to mobilize support for the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy.

In Denver, 250 Chicanos attended a cocktail party at the Northside Action Center to raise funds for the Colorado Coalition on Immigration and Human Rights (CCIHR). The money raised there is being used to send sixty activists to the national conference in San Antonio.

The following day the CCIHR was one of five groups that picketed President Carter during his visit to Denver.

Texas Raza Unida leader José Angel Gutiérrez keynoted an October 4 conference in Salt Lake City. A front-page story on the conference appeared in the Salt Lake City Tribune. Two half-hour interviews with Gutiérrez were aired on Spanish-language radio stations, and the conference was covered on two TV channels.

Some 100 people attended a symposium in New York City October 20. Speakers there included Maura Rodríguez of the National Student Coalition Against Racism; Rev. Guy Senserig, Haitian Fathers; Jean Dupuy, Haitian Neighborhood Service Center; Rev. Douglas Franklin, chairperson, National Alliance on Immigration Laws; Rev. José Alvarez, chairperson, Committee to Defend Immigrants (CODI); Jovelina Ramos, National Council of Churches; and Ira Golebin, a lawyer with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

More than 150 people, mostly Chica-

nos, attended a northern California regional conference in Oakland. The conference endorsed the idea of nationally coordinated protests against Carter's proposed crackdown on undocumented immigrants.

Sixty people attended a "Teach-in on Deportations, Immigration, and Carter's Plan" at California State University in Los Angeles October 22.

Speakers included Andrés Torres, Raza Unida Party; Trinidad Flores, Mexican American Labor Council; Jesse Ramírez and Marianna Hernández, both of the Los Angeles Call for Action Committee; and Joseph Sereck, district director, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

New Mexico Raza Unida Party leader Juan José Peña spoke to two meetings in Milwaukee October 15, one in Milwaukee's South Side Latino barrio, the other at the University of Wisconsin.

A statewide Conference on Immigration and Deportations was held in Detroit October 8. It was attended by seventy Latino and civil rights activists.

People from all over New Mexico representing nearly twenty organizations attended the New Mexico Statewide Conference on Immigration and Social Impact held Saturday, October 8, in Albuquerque.

Support for the San Antonio conference was the main theme of a forum held October 21 in San Diego. Forums and other activities have also been held in Kansas City, Boston, Miami, as well as the five areas reported on last week in the *Militant*.



Chicanos shouting 'Human Rights Begin at Home! Stop the Deportations!' were among the 400 people who picketed President Carter while he spoke in Denver.

KKK says it will patrol border; attacks San Diego activists

By Robbie Scheer

SAN DIEGO—David Duke, grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, boasted here October 16 that the KKK would patrol the entire border with Mexico to stop "illegal aliens."

So far there have been no reports of KKK attacks on Mexican immigrants. But in the wake of Duke's announcement, local Klan members have launched attacks against several San Diego-area activists.

• The home of Herman Baca, chairperson of the Committee on Chicano Rights, was vandalized by persons who wrote "KKK" on his house and driveway.

• A cross was burned near the home of Black city council member Leon Williams.

• The apartment of two MESA College students was vandalized and "KKK" was scrawled on their walls.

The students are leaders of the campus committee organizing support for the national Chicano/Latino conference against deportations.

These events prove that the government's drive against immigrants has become a source of inspiration to the most violent right-wing elements in society. This officially sanctioned racist hysteria poses a direct threat to Chicanos, Blacks, and all working people, as well as to undocumented immigrants.

In response to the attacks, supporters of the Chicano/Latino conference are planning a news conference to demand that police arrest the KKK vandals.

In addition, a coalition led by Baca organized a meeting of 150 Chicanos October 19 to discuss their response to the Klan violence.

Women confront abortion rights foes

Massachusetts

By Hattie McCutcheon

FRAMINGHAM, Mass.—More than 600 people supporting women's right to choose abortion poured into this town October 22 to picket abortion foe Rep. Henry Hyde.

Carloads of demonstrators, mostly women, came from Boston, Cambridge, Springfield, and other Massachusetts cities. A chartered bus from the University of Massachusetts brought protesters.

Hyde, author of the bill that has cut off Medicaid payments for poor women's abortions, was here to speak at a benefit for anti-abortion groups. His visit was part of a month of anti-abortion activities. The Massachusetts legislature has designated October "pro-life" month.

When rumor of Hyde's unpublicized visit began to circulate, the Abortion Action Coalition and the Abortion Rights Coalition began to build the protest.

While Hyde spoke to an exclusive crowd inside a Framingham hotel, the demonstrators crowded outside. The sidewalks were so narrow, and the demonstration so large, that the "picket line" filled both sides of the street.

*Hey, hey, what do you say?
Abortion rights are here to stay!
Ho, ho, what do you know?
Henry Hyde has got to go!*

Women and their supporters chanted this and other prochoice slogans.

People driving by honked their horns in solidarity. Several got out of their cars to join the protest.

St. Louis

By Louise Halverson

ST. LOUIS—In this stronghold of the antiwoman "right to life" movement, supporters of legal abortion are organizing a counteroffensive to defend the right of women to choose.

On October 16, 300 chanting demonstrators picketed Rep. Henry Hyde, who was speaking to the St. Louis Archdiocese Pro-Life Convention.

Vocal opponents of abortion have always appeared to be in the majority in St. Louis. But the scheduled visit of Hyde and the urgent need for a response to attacks on the right to choose moved women from many organizations to help build the picket line.

The most popular chants were, "Listen here, Mr. Hyde, you can't take our right to decide" and, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate."

Endorsers of the action included both local chapters of the National Organization for Women; Missourians for the Freedom to Choose Abortion, a new coalition; Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom; Washington University Feminist Coalition; Socialist Workers Party; Lesbian Rights Alliance; and the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse.

The picket took place at St. Louis University, a Catholic institution that features a "God is Pro-Life" billboard

NEW YORK—Abortion foe Joseph Califano, secretary of health, education, and welfare, will speak here at New York University on November 12. A coalition including the National Organization for Women, New York Women's Center, and the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse is planning a picket line at 1:00 p.m. and a rally at 3:00 p.m. in front of NYU Law School, 40 Washington Square South. For more information call (212) 674-8950.

on the side of a campus building. The week preceding the demonstration, the student government prevented a feminist speaker at a campus meeting from mentioning abortion.

Twenty male students carrying a "prolife" banner gathered across the street to heckle on the day of the demonstration.

A short rally after the picket featured remarks by Frank Susman, a local attorney who has handled many abortion rights cases; Nancy Everett, chair of Missourians for the Freedom to Choose Abortion; Kathy Samer, president of the Metro Chapter of NOW; and Mary Pritchard, a member of NOW's abortion task force.

Susman stressed the importance of action in furthering the struggle to make abortions safe and legal for all women. He said, "This is a great victory, and we should not underestimate the importance of this action."

Samer said, "We should have more such actions in the near future." She encouraged women to attend NOW meetings.

Philadelphia

By Eileen Gersh

PHILADELPHIA—Women responded here October 21 when a Pennsylvania Senate committee held local hearings on an anti-abortion bill.

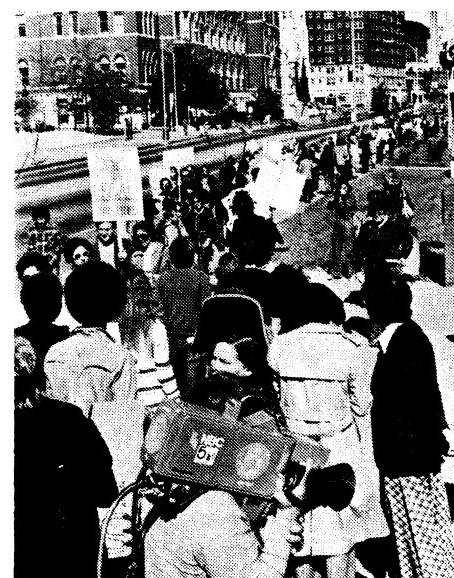
House Bill No. 71, which has already passed the state House of Representatives, calls for a constitutional convention to outlaw abortions by giving fetuses the "right to life" from the time of fertilization.

Although anti-abortion groups attended the hearings, they did not compete with prochoice groups who rallied outside in a protest mourning women who would die from illegal abortions.

Among the 150 demonstrators were representatives of the National Organization for Women, the Pro-Choice Alliance, Women's Health Concerns Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Medical Students Association, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The hearings inside debated the dangers of a constitutional convention. Outside, speakers emphasized women's right to choose. Especially moving was a statement from Lynn Harnwell, who was six years old when her mother died from an illegal abortion during her eighth pregnancy.

The call for a constitutional convention must be approved by thirty-four state legislatures to take place. Nine state legislatures have already voted for such calls. Pennsylvania and four other states have approved the call in one house of the state legislature.



Militant/Pat Hayes
300 picketed Rep. Henry Hyde in St. Louis.

Mexican student's life in danger

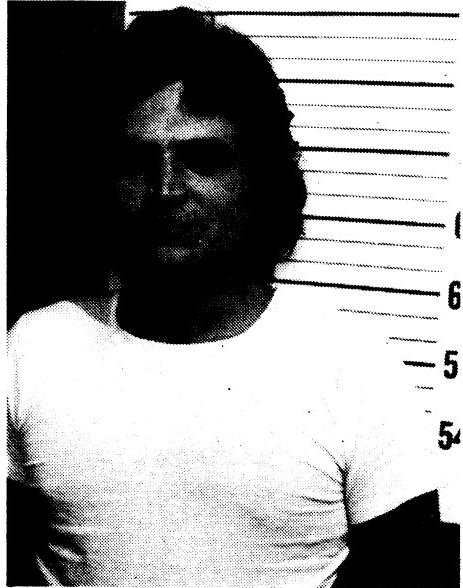
Drive begins for Marroquin asylum

By Arnold Weissberg

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has begun an intensive campaign to win political asylum for Héctor Marroquín Manríquez, a Mexican student activist now being held in a Texas jail near the border.

USLA is circulating an "Appeal for Asylum," which will be sent to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Director Leonel Castillo.

Marroquín faces certain arrest and torture and probable death if U.S. authorities send him back to Mexico. The Mexican government has framed him up on several murder charges. They also accuse him of the "crime" of



Militant/Margaret Winter
HECTOR MARROQUIN MANRIQUEZ

"subversion," falsely claiming that he belongs to a guerrilla organization, the September 23rd Communist League.

USLA's appeal declares, "Reviewing the facts of [Marroquín's] case, the charges of political crime levied against him by the Mexican government, and the overwhelming evidence of his innocence of these charges, we must conclude that he is the victim of a political frame-up."

The appeal continues, "Understanding that he faces torture and death at the hands of the Mexican authorities, we urge you to decide in favor of granting him the simple democratic right of political asylum. . . ."

In 1969, at age sixteen, Marroquín entered the Autonomous University of Nueva León, in Monterrey.

Mexico's campuses were highly politicized in the aftermath of the October 1968 massacre by government troops of 300 students and workers demonstrating peacefully in Mexico City's Tlatelolco Square.

Marroquín participated in a movement to democratize the Monterrey campus, a struggle that won support throughout Mexico.

A demonstration in Mexico City supporting the Monterrey students in June 1971 was attacked by an ultra-right paramilitary outfit called "Los Halcones" (the Hawks), operating under government protection. A hundred protesters were killed.

Marroquín was also profoundly affected by the brutal police murder of his roommate, Jesús Rivera, in 1972. Rivera, a leading campus political activist, was accused by police of helping in the robbery of a Monterrey bank. When the cops arrested him, they pumped fourteen bullets into his body.

Rivera had nothing to do with the robbery. But the cops arrested and tortured three other students, extracting "confessions" that implicated Rivera.

Marroquín joined a campus political discussion group in March 1973. This group later called itself the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (Revolutionary Student Movement—CER). By August many CER members had come to support guerrilla warfare.

Marroquín disagreed. He didn't believe that armed actions by a few activists could bring about significant social change.

So he left the CER in late 1973. The group later merged into the September 23rd Communist League. Despite his break with the CER, Marroquín is still accused by the Mexican government of membership in the guerrilla group.

In January 1974 a university librarian was shot and killed on a Monterrey street. Police arrested several students. Under torture, several "confessed" that the CER was responsible for the killing.

Two days later, Monterrey papers splashed five students' names and pictures across their front pages. These

allegedly were the guilty five. One of them was Marroquín.

Marroquín consulted an attorney and decided against turning himself in to fight the charges, since torture and murders such as that of his friend Jesús Rivera were common police practice.

Instead, Marroquín came to the United States in April 1974.

Since then, two of the five accused students have been killed by the cops. A third was arrested in April 1975 and hasn't been heard from since.

The Mexican police claim Marroquín has been involved in two shootouts with them—both since he left Mexico, one while he was in a Texas hospital recovering from an auto accident!

Marroquín returned briefly to Mexico in September of this year to talk to a lawyer about the charges against him. He was arrested by the U.S. Border Patrol when he tried to reenter the country.

He is now serving a three-month sentence for illegally entering the country.

The INS has said it will hold a hearing to decide whether to "exclude" Marroquín. (Since he was picked up at

the border, he is not subject to deportation but to exclusion. People facing exclusion have even fewer rights under U.S. law than those subject to deportation.)

INS rules forbid Marroquín to bring up his asylum request at the exclusion hearing. And although he can appeal an exclusion order, he can be sent back to face police persecution in Mexico in the meantime.

Marroquín also isn't entitled to an asylum hearing. The decision is entirely up to the district director of the INS, and no appeal is permitted.

Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney, has filed a federal court challenge to these arbitrary and undemocratic INS procedures. The suit seeks to force the agency to grant Marroquín a full hearing on his asylum request. Winter also wants to prevent the INS from sending Marroquín back to Mexico before all his appeals are exhausted.

Sending Marroquín back to Mexico would be a violation of a United Nations agreement on refugees, which the U.S. government has signed.

Experience has shown, however, that only mass pressure can make Washington adhere to its own laws.

How you can help

Militant readers can help the campaign to save Héctor Marroquín's life in the following ways:

- Send a telegram to Immigration Director Leonel Castillo demanding political asylum for Marroquín.

• Circulate petitions in support of asylum for Marroquín.

• Fact sheets on the case and endorser cards have also been prepared. These may be ordered along with petitions from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

• Contributions are badly needed for the defense effort. Please make checks payable to: USLA and earmark "Marroquín Manríquez Defense."

I/my organization endorse the appeal for asylum for Héctor Marroquín Manríquez and have sent a letter telegram to Director Castillo.

Please send me _____ appeals to circulate.

Please send me _____ fact sheets.

Enclosed is \$10____ \$25____ \$50____ \$100____ other_____

Name_____

Address_____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Organization* _____

*for identification purposes only

Clip and mail to: USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. (212) 254-6062.

Washington's political bias in granting asylum

The effort to win political asylum for Héctor Marroquín Manríquez has an importance far beyond this particular case. It challenges the politically biased and arbitrary manner in which Washington decides who is and who is not granted refugee status.

The American government throws its doors wide open to those who have emigrated from Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, South Vietnam, and Cuba. But victims of rightist dictators with whom it is closely allied find the door shut tight.

For example, U.S. officials had no problem letting in nearly half-a-million Cubans who left that country after the revolution. But it took a mass pressure campaign to win a special act of Congress allowing in 400 Chileans and their families fleeing the bloody dictatorship that took power in 1973.

Some 2,000 Haitians escaping the brutal Duvalier dictatorship have headed for the United States. Hundreds have been routinely jailed pending deportation. Only 240 have been granted asylum. Of a group of 101 Haitians who arrived in Miami

in August, 97 were sent back.

The Carter administration claims that the Haitians fled their country "merely" because of economic hardship, not because of their political ideas.

What's really behind Washington's refusal to grant asylum, of course, is the government's friendship with the Duvalier regime.

Or take the case of Ali Shokri. Shokri was a sergeant in the Iranian air force. He fled to Canada in 1973 because "there is no freedom of any kind at all [in Iran]."

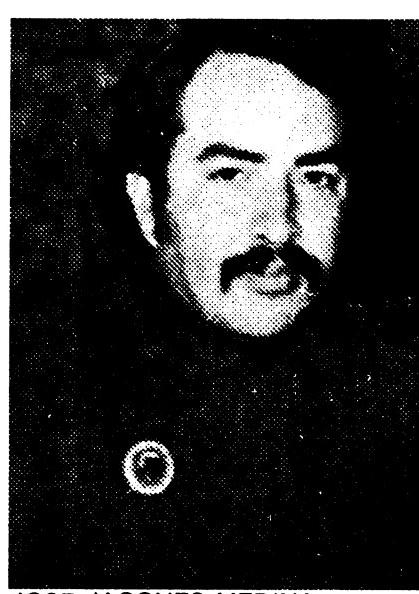
In 1976 he and his wife moved to Tacoma, Washington, her native city, and Shokri applied for political asylum.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, which has the final say on asylum requests, asked the State Department for advice. The State Department urged the INS to turn down Shokri's application.

An article in the *Nation* earlier this year quoted a State Department official on the consequences of granting asylum to an Iranian refugee: "The Shah would become very,

very angry. . . . The atmosphere would be intense, and this might affect U.S. business prospects, the availability of oil and so on. . . ."

According to Amnesty International, the shah's prisons hold 100,000 political prisoners. Barbaric torture is commonplace.



JOSE JACQUES MEDINA

That is the regime the U.S. government chooses to keep on friendly terms with.

Another case, similar to Marroquín's, also exposes the government's bias in granting asylum.

José Jacque Medina was a Mexican attorney and political activist.

He became a target of persecution by the Mexican government and the paramilitary ultraright groups that operate in collusion with that country's police.

Medina fled to the United States in 1973. In this country he worked to defend the rights of undocumented workers and became a member of CASA, a Los Angeles-based group.

The FBI arrested him in March 1976, and he has been fighting deportation ever since.

Medina requested political asylum in July 1976. His request was denied last March.

If the U.S. government succeeds in sending him back to Mexico, he will probably spend many years in jail—if he is fortunate enough to survive the arrest and torture that surely will follow.

—A.W.

Why CP lies about unification of Trotskyists



Members of Revolutionary Marxist Committee being welcomed into Socialist Workers Party this August
Militant/Lou Howort

By Larry Seigle

The Communist Party normally does not comment publicly on the affairs of the Socialist Workers Party. It prefers to maintain the fiction that the SWP is an insignificant political force, at least in comparison with the mighty battalions of American Stalinism.

The heel-clicking corporals who administer the CPUSA on behalf of the Kremlin bureaucracy choose not to recognize that in this country the Trotskyist movement has successfully challenged the overwhelming domination of the radical movement that the CP maintained for several decades in the United States, and still holds in many other countries.

Readers of the CP newspaper, the *Daily World*, are supposed to share this fictionalized view of American radical politics. So when the *Daily World* steps out of its looking-glass world to respond to something the SWP has done, it is a signal that the Stalinists are feeling pressure.

This is the case with an article by Erik Bert in the October 1 "weekend" edition of the *Daily World*. The subject is the fusion the SWP carried out with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee. The pressure on the CP comes from the continuing gains of the SWP in attracting radicalizing young activists. The growth of the SWP, its increasing prominence on the left, and the relative strengthening of its position vis-a-vis the Stalinists is putting a strain on the CP's pretensions.

Bert reports on the story in the *Militant* of September 30, which enthusiastically described the RMC fusion and its significance for the SWP and the whole radical movement. He notes that the *Militant* hailed the fusion as "one of the most important accomplishments" of the recent SWP convention.

He then tries to explain away the importance of this event, and by extension, of all the recent accomplishments

of the SWP. "The absorption of the RMC by the SWP is of interest only because it puts the SWP's anti-Sovietism in a still harsher light than hitherto."

What follows from Bert is as crooked a piece of Stalinist falsification as you have ever read.

'Anti-Sovietism'

The charge of "anti-Sovietism" is aimed at the SWP on the grounds that the ex-members of the RMC, now members of the SWP, hold a state capitalist position. That is, they believe that the Stalinist bureaucracy has succeeded in destroying even the economic foundations of the workers state established by the Russian Revolution and restoring capitalism. As a result, they would not be for the defense of the Soviet Union against an imperialist attack.

What Bert tries to ignore is the fact that on this question the RMC disagreed with the SWP. In fact, the *Militant* took the opportunity of its account of the fusion to once again present the position of the SWP and of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, on the Soviet Union.

The *Militant* explained that "despite the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the nationalized property and planned economy that were the great historic conquests of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 have not been overturned."

The *Militant* added that it is the view of the world Trotskyist movement that "it is in the interests of the working class everywhere to defend these gains of the Russian revolution against efforts by imperialism to roll them back, while at the same time fighting against the reactionary bureaucratic caste that is in power in the Soviet Union today."

Bert, of course, doesn't quote from

that section of the *Militant* article. To the contrary, he tries to leave the impression that the SWP has a state capitalist position. He then slanders all those who hold that position as being in league with imperialism.

The truth is that the Stalinists find it easier to dispose of the arguments of the state capitalist position than of the Trotskyist position. This is because the working class in the Soviet Union is hardly unconscious of or ready to abandon the defense of the social conquests of the Bolshevik revolution—the expropriation of the exploiting landlords and industrialists—despite criticisms of the policies of the bureaucracy. Millions of CP members in other countries, including those in the mass Stalinist parties in Western Europe, share this point of view.

In fact, more and more of them see the bureaucracy as the main obstacle to the defense of the conquests of the October revolution. They will not be convinced by those, like state capitalists, who incorrectly proclaim that all has been lost.

That is why what really bothers the Stalinists is not the theory of state capitalism, but the Trotskyist position of support for the struggles of the Soviet working masses to overthrow the tyranny of the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely in order to defend the gains of the October revolution.

The Stalinists fear the growing support among revolutionary-minded people around the world—including inside the Soviet Union—for the idea that democratic rights should exist in a workers state.

That economic planning ought to be done by the workers, through democratic forms, not by technicians hired by the rapacious bureaucratic caste.

That people shouldn't be locked up in psychiatric wards because they dare to criticize the bureaucracy.

That people ought to have the right

to say what they think, and read what other people think, without fear of being arrested for "anti-Soviet" acts.

That oppressed nationalities ought to have the right to speak their own language and live in their homelands free from chauvinism and discrimination.

In short, that Soviet democracy as it existed in the time of Lenin and Trotsky, before it was crushed under the iron heel of the Stalinist bureaucracy, should be restored.

Workers democracy

The growing struggle for workers democracy in the Soviet Union and the other workers states, long a cornerstone of the program of the world Trotskyist movement, has the Stalinists worried. While some of the European CPs are raising criticisms of Moscow's most outrageous acts of repression, the CPUSA, always the most craven Kremlin loyalist, jumps to the defense of the Brezhnev gang.

Thus Bert writes: "The SWP's anti-Sovietism has been blatant for years. It has taken to its bosom every anti-socialist renegade from the Soviet Union. There is no renegade for whom the SWP has not beat the drums."

"In this it has provided a sounding board to the 'Left' for the anti-Soviet hysteria which the New York Times operates out of its Moscow Bureau. There is no renegade whom the New York Times has sponsored, that the SWP has not cheered."

Amidst this typically clumsy rhetoric we have the CP's one and only answer to everyone who criticizes the Kremlin bureaucracy, everyone who fights for democratic rights in the workers states—they are all agents of American imperialism.

More falsifications

But Bert's falsifications don't stop there. He goes on to outright forgery of quotations.

The *Militant* quoted a section from my report to the SWP convention on the differences between the SWP and the RMC on the Soviet Union. I had explained that "this is not just a theoretical difference. . . . In the event of an attack by NATO, led by American imperialism, against the Warsaw Pact countries, they [the RMC] would reject the defense of the workers states. And this is not just a question of what position to take in the event of such an attack—it comes up every day. It affects our stance toward Carter's escalation of the arms race, toward developments in Eastern Europe, in China, and Cuba."

In reference to this paragraph, Bert baldly states: "The position of the RMC, the *Militant* says, is not to oppose Carter's arms escalation."

But the *Militant* said no such thing.

The reference was to the fact that a revolutionary organization would obviously have a different stance in explaining its opposition to its "own" ruling class in an arms race, or in a shooting war, with another capitalist country than it would if the conflict were with a workers state.

It is only through a total fabrication that Bert translates this into the accusation that the RMC didn't oppose "Carter's escalation of the arms race."

But the lie doesn't stop there. It keeps growing.

Once having made up a quotation to "prove" that the RMC didn't oppose Washington's arms drive, Bert parlays a few paragraphs later into the charge that the RMC was "a revolutionary supporter of Carter's escalation of the arms race." And, still later, that the RMC was "lining up with imperialism!"

From which, totally unabashedly, the *Daily World* editors selected the headline for Bert's polemic: "Trotskyism embraces 'Carter's escalation of arms race'"—falsification built on falsification.

Only two weeks before the article on the RMC fusion, the *Militant* had reprinted the full text of the main

political report at the SWP's August convention. That report outlined at great length the SWP's intransigent opposition to Carter's escalation of the arms race.

"Since World War II, without exception, every escalation of the massive arms race was initiated and driven through by the American ruling class," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, who gave the report. (See September 16, 1977, issue.)

Fusion with the RMC

The political foundation on which the SWP's fusion with the RMC rested was the agreement on the urgent necessity of making a socialist revolution in this country, and on the strategy of building a Leninist combat party in the United States to carry this task out. Like the SWP, the RMC held the Leninist position of "revolutionary defeatism" with regard to American imperialism. That is, it was in favor of revolutionary struggle in the United States to overthrow capitalist rule and bring to power a workers government.

If the ruling class should drag the country into war, the RMC would oppose the war, and urge U.S. workers to defend their own interests against those of the warmakers.

It was on the basis of agreement on this revolutionary perspective for the United States that the RMC decided to join the SWP, in which they would be a small minority on the Russian question. They recognized that the difference on the class nature of the Soviet Union should not stand in the way of joining and building the revolutionary party in the United States—the SWP.

They also were confident, given the traditions of the Trotskyist movement and of the SWP, that even as a small minority on this question they would be able to present their views in the party and get a fair hearing for their ideas, while at the same time agreeing to build the SWP on the basis of the majority position.

Of course, the notion that minorities within a party can disagree on some very important questions—like the Russian question—is totally alien to Bert. In the CP, disagreement equals treason—just like in the Soviet Union. The Stalinists' idea is to build a monolithic party, just like they dream futilely of building a monolithic society.

In fact, the CP's perversion of democratic centralism and its well-known prohibition and victimization of minorities inside the party repels many radicalizing forces, just as the Soviet Union's repression of dissidents alienates anyone who is really committed to building a socialist future.

Defending the Soviet Union

Bert accuses the Trotskyists of failing to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism. We have shown that to be a baseless charge. Now let's look at the other half of the question. How has the Stalinist bureaucracy done on this score?

The most important front in the defense of the Soviet workers state is the political one—explaining to the workers of the capitalist world their stake in the fight for socialism in their own countries, and in the defense of the workers states that have already been established.

On this front the Stalinists have handed imperialism its biggest and most effective weapon. By crushing Soviet democracy and maintaining a police state in the name of socialism, the bureaucracy has allowed the imperialists to equate socialism with tyranny. This monstrous lie is the biggest obstacle in the way of winning radicalizing workers to understanding the need both to defend the Soviet Union, and to make their own proletarian revolution.

Let's take another example, the one Bert himself chooses: the imperialist drive toward nuclear war.

The Kremlin's answer to the arms race is "detente." Their theory of detente is based on the totally false

premise that American imperialism can be tamed, and its drive toward war kept in check, by diplomatic deals with the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the Stalinists argue, the task of defenders of the Soviet Union in the capitalist countries is not to make a revolution in their own country—this might upset the balance and arouse the aggressive imperialists—but to pressure the "peace-loving" sections of their own ruling classes to make a deal with the Soviet Union.

But each deal that Washington has negotiated with the Kremlin has led only to a new escalation of the arms race, and has brought the world closer to a nuclear conflagration.

In 1972 the Stalinists hailed the SALT [Strategic Arms Limitations Talks] agreement as a giant stride toward peace.

Two years later, at Vladivostock, another treaty was signed. The Vladivostok accords put a ceiling of 2,400 on each country's total allowable number of long-range offensive missiles and bombers. What security!

Ultrahawk James Schlesinger, then the secretary of defense, hailed the treaty, pointing out that U.S. spending for arms would rise to new heights to reach the "ceiling" imposed at Vladivostock.

But the *Daily World* praised the Vladivostok agreement as "a breakthrough towards stable world peace and a sharp setback for the Pentagon warhawks. . ." The Stalinist paper went on to approvingly quote Secretary of State Kissinger as saying of the accords, "The back of this thing (the arms race) is broken."

Today, almost three years after "the back of the arms race was broken," the danger of thermonuclear holocaust is greater than ever. The Carter administration is driving toward the development of the death-ray neutron bomb and the cruise missile.

Just last month, it announced plans for a new "MX" missile, which, in the well-informed opinion of the editors of the *New York Times*, "would amount to a first-strike weapon." The *Times* added: "A force of 300 MX's could destroy the entire Soviet land-based force in half an hour."

What has been the response of the Kremlin to Carter's escalation of the arms race? Oleg Troyanovsky, chief Soviet delegate to the United Nations, warmly greeted Carter's October 4 address to the UN General Assembly. According to the *New York Times*, Troyanovsky "said it was gratifying that the problem of ending the arms race and preventing nuclear war was 'in the forefront of the President's speech.'"

Thus, at each stage of their escalation of the arms race, the U.S. warmakers cover themselves with a little demagoguery—and the Stalinists lend it credence!

If we were to follow this madness, we would find ourselves dancing in the streets when Washington and Moscow finally agree to a new and improved arms treaty—one that would remove all limits on weapons development and allow each side to blow up the world as many times as they like.

Such is the Stalinists' method of defending the Soviet Union. Trotsky was not exaggerating when he branded them as the gravediggers of the revolution.

Further reading...

Books by Leon Trotsky on the class character of the Soviet state:

The Revolution Betrayed, 314 pp., \$3.95.

In Defense of Marxism, 211 pp., \$2.75.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

...striking Ky. miners

Continued from back page
as much as they make on one in the mine."

A woman beside her said her husband wouldn't let her work in the mine because "it isn't a woman's place."

Phillips replied that if a woman could do it, "she belongs there."

The Stearns Women's Club has now grown to about fifty members. Women are confident the strikebreaking events have boosted interest in the club and that their ranks will now grow.

Miners and supporters are optimistic about the state of their strike. The October 17 attack "made us that much stronger" is a common statement here.

They're proud that their mobilization stopped the scabs from going through. Blue Diamond has refrained from sending more scabs up to the mine since then.

But hatred for Gov. Julian Carroll's state troopers—"who are never here when we need them, only when Blue Diamond calls them"—has intensified.

"I want you to quote me on this," says Mahan Vanover. "Captain Leroy Faulconer of the London [Kentucky] post of the state troopers, the Storm Security firm [which provides private guards for Blue Diamond], and the company are all working together on this."

Women express concern that some of their children witnessed the violence of October 17. "At least they grow up to know a pig's a pig," comments one young mother.

"I wonder how they would like it to have those state police down there mining coal," sputters Randell Hines. "I wonder how much coal they'd get."

The miners are determined to get the state police "off our backs" so that they can force Blue Diamond to negotiate.

The main issue for Blue Diamond is the miners' demand for a union-controlled safety committee. "Blue Diamond doesn't want no one to tell them what to do," Doug Corder told the *Militant*. "They want to do it their way."

"Their way" generally means abandoning any pretense of safety in the interest of high productivity and high profits.

The miners say they have more support from people in the county than at any other point in the long strike. The events of recent weeks have brought home to them more than ever their need for the support of working people outside their own ranks.

Jackie Phillips says it's not a one-way street, that a victory for the miners "will help the whole county. The wages will go up for everyone." She explains how nothing is organized in

Defend Stearns strike

The 117 Stearns miners and supporters arrested in the October 17 state police attack go on trial October 26.

The trials of thirty-two strikers and supporters charged with kidnapping, assault, and robbery—scheduled to begin October 25—have been postponed.

Funds are needed to fight these trumped-up charges.

The Highlander Research and Education Center, which filmed the attack, is making the videotape available for unions and other groups to use in raising funds for the strikers. The center also has another film on an April 1977 demonstration against Blue Diamond organized by strikers and the Stearns Women's Club.

For more information, contact the Highlander Research and Education Center, Box 245A, RFD 3, New Market, Tennessee 37820. Telephone: (615) 933-3443.

Contributions and statements of support may be sent directly to the Stearns Miners Strike Headquarters, Old Post Office Building, Whitley City, Kentucky 42653. Telephone: (606) 376-8047.

these parts of Kentucky, how a while back they tried to get a union in the local factory but failed.

"People are afraid, they need those jobs," she says. But it will be different once the UMWA is in at the Justus mine, she thinks.

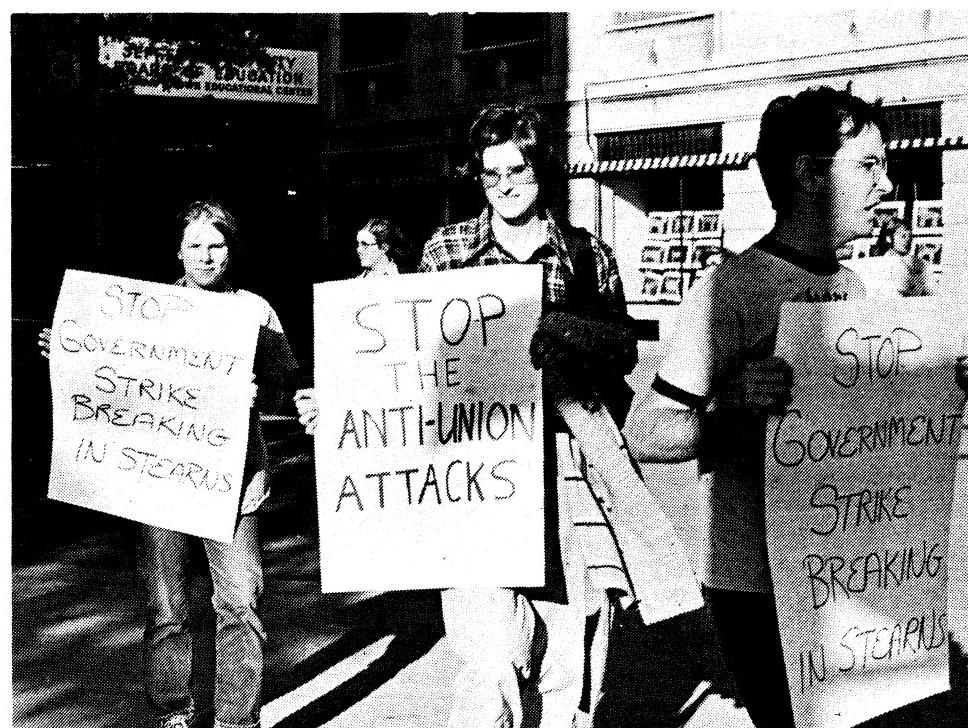
As for what will convince Governor Carroll to withdraw the state police, one miner told the *Militant* he thought the "full support of the county" would do it. "If everybody would get out there, they could say, 'Listen, we live here, and we don't want this.'"

Others think a show of force by the UMWA—a march in Stearns or a sympathy strike—could get the cops out and settle the strike.

"It sure would be great to have 18,000 miners marching through here," says Phillips.

"As dirty as Blue Diamond is, they probably have to have someone killed before they even sit down and talk," one striker on the picket line told the *Militant*.

To prevent such a tragedy and win the strike will take the strength of the strikers, the UMWA, and their supporters everywhere.



Twenty people picketed in downtown Louisville October 21 demanding that all charges against Stearns strikers be dropped and that Gov. Julian Carroll pull his strikebreaking state police units out of Stearns.

Calendar

ALBANY, N.Y.

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: WASHINGTON'S RECORD ON HUMAN AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Frank Lovell, labor columnist for the *Militant*; Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for mayor of Albany; folksinger Nelly Brown. Fri., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

BALTIMORE

RALLY TO CELEBRATE THE 'MILITANT' NEWSPAPER. Speakers: Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Militant*, member of SWP National Committee; Alvin Thornton, Baltimore Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision; others to be announced. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, SWP National Committee. Mon., Nov. 7, time to be announced. Univ. of N.C. at Chapel Hill. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (919) 967-5425.

CINCINNATI

STEARNS MINERS UNDER ATTACK. An eyewitness report. Speaker: Charlie Rosenberg, SWP. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

DETROIT: EAST SIDE

THE VA NURSES ARE INNOCENT! Speakers: Angelo Figuera, program director of el Grito de mi Raza—Cry of my race (WDET-FM); Sheryl Rousseau, Coalition to Free the VA Nurses; speaker from Narciso-Perez Legal Defense Committee; Meg Hayes, SWP. Sun., Oct 30, 7:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

HOUSTON

ELECTION EVE PARTY & RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT'. Speakers: Linda Jenness, member of SWP National Committee; Diane Sarge, SWP candidate for mayor. Tues., Nov. 6, 6 p.m. Sebring Apts., Club Room, 105 W. Tidwell. Donation: \$1; buffet dinner: \$2.50. Ausp: the *Militant*, Houston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, YSA. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

INDIANAPOLIS

ISSUES FACING TEACHERS TODAY. Speakers: representative of Indianapolis Education Association; Jerry Ullman, American Federation of Teachers, Ball State Univ. Fri., Nov. 4, 7:45 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

LOS ANGELES

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, member of SWP National Committee, editor of *Politics of Chicano Liberation*; Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau chief. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. Cal State LA, King Lecture Hall 2. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

LOUISVILLE, KY

CARTER VERSUS BLACK AMERICA. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

Speak-out against racist violence in Chicago

NUCLEAR POWER: DANGER TO HUMANITY. Speakers: representative from Safe Energy Coalition; Sandy Knoll SWP. Sun., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 12920 Mack. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 824-1160 or 961-5675.

DETROIT: WEST SIDE

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. A film by Sergei Eisenstein. Celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Russian revolution. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

WHY A SOCIALIST IS RUNNING FOR MAYOR. Speaker: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum and Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY-SAN JOSE

THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: WHAT IT MEANS FOR TODAY. Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, SWP National Committee, first national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. *The party that made the revolution*, Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m.; *The Russian revolution*, Sat., Nov. 5, 2 p.m.; *Hungary and Poland 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968*, Sat., Nov. 5, 4 p.m. All classes at 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley. Advance tickets for series: \$2, at door: \$1/class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

RALLY FOR THE 'MILITANT' NEWSPAPER. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, speaking on *Carter's first year—a socialist view*. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

RALEIGH, N.C.

CARTER'S FIRST YEAR: A SOCIALIST VIEW. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, member of SWP National

Committee. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. Brown Room #4114, student union, N. Carolina State Univ. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (919) 833-8863.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

THE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS. Speakers: Juan Martinez, SWP; other delegates to San Antonio conference. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

TACOMA, WASH.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE MURDER OF STEVE BIKO. Speaker: Noah Midamba, African student. Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. 1022 S. J. St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 627-0432.

TWIN CITIES

CARTER AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA: MYTH VERSUS REALITY. Speaker: Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader and revolutionary socialist. Wed., Nov. 2, 7:30 p.m. Great Hall, Coffman Union, U. of Minn. Sponsors: USLA Justice Committee, History Department, Latin American Studies Department, Spanish and Portuguese Department, Chicano Studies Department, Coffman Union Program Council, YSA.

Writings of Hugo Blanco

LAND OR DEATH: The Peasant Struggle in Peru

178 pp., \$9.00, paper \$2.45

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Edited by Les Evans, includes special contributions by Hugo Blanco. 271 pp., paper \$2.95

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Introduction by José Yglesias, edited by Judy White, includes firsthand description by Hugo Blanco of the coup. 124 pp., \$7.00, paper \$1.75

HUGO BLANCO ON CHILE AND PERU

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THE COUP IN CHILE: Firsthand Report and Assessment by Hugo Blanco and Other Revolutionaries Who Escaped

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America's Road To Socialism
By James P. Cannon

124 pp., \$7.00, paper \$1.95
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen

416 pp., \$3.95.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

...Garza

Continued from page 7

New York college students October 9 against the hope of finding jobs here.

"So it's clear that using the school board's methods it will take years to meet even the goals of this minimal plan," Garza points out.

The goal set in the memorandum for increasing minority-group teachers in the system as a whole requires bringing their percentage "within a range representative of the percentage of minorities in the available qualified labor pool" by 1980.

"The key escape clause here is the phrase *'in the available qualified labor pool'*," Garza explains. "This means the percentage of minority teachers would not have to even approximately reflect the percent of minority students in the school system."

Garza calls attention to a study done for the board of education by Deputy Chancellor Dr. Bernard Gifford in 1976. That report optimistically projected that the number of minority

teachers in the "qualified labor pool" would "approach 22 or 23 percent," as compared to a minority pupil population that now amounts to 70 percent of the school system.

"The 23 percent in Gifford's study may even be a high figure, depending on how the school board defines 'qualified labor pool,'" Garza says.

Don Peyo, publication of the Puerto Rican Educators Association, points out that "confining the available pool to the metropolitan area college graduates may be disastrous for Hispanics and other minorities."

"Once again, it is doubtful that even this modest goal will be met, given the small number of new teachers likely to be hired between now and 1980," according to Garza. "The more likely possibility is further layoffs."

But the New York City School Board is not worried. All they are committed to in the memorandum is "goals."

Quotas involve concrete figures that have to be met within a specific time. But a goal, as Garza puts it, "is something you only make an effort to achieve, and if you miss—that's just

too bad."

School Chancellor Irving Anker lost no time in stressing this distinction. Immediately following the agreement he explained, "We are discussing the setting of goals. . . These are benchmarks for analysis and not quotas."

Despite the plan's weaknesses, Garza stresses the importance of defending it and fighting to strengthen it. "Even these minimal gains must be defended against these attacks," he says. "And the best way to defend them is by launching a broad, united fight to extend them."

"We need a plan that modifies seniority rules, so that the few past gains in desegregating the teaching staff are not wiped out in the first round of new layoffs."

"We need a plan to put laid off teachers back to work and to hire the thousands of new teachers needed to provide a quality education to the students of this city."

"Such a plan must include real affirmative-action quotas and specific deadlines to ensure equal treatment for Black, Hispanic, and women

teachers."

Shanker and Anker still maintain that there has been no discrimination by the school board. They both claim that the present segregated distribution of teachers is the product of decentralization and community control.

But according to the school board's own study, the present discriminatory distribution of teachers existed in full force in 1969-70, before the city's limited experiment in community control began.

"Control by the oppressed minorities over their own community schools is the best defense against the racist practices of the central board," says Garza. "Community control must be defended and expanded."

"Students from the communities of the oppressed nationalities now comprise 70 percent of the New York City public school pupil population. The bodies responsible for running the school system have to reflect that reality in their composition and policies. When that's true, discrimination in the system will end."

Reports from the 1977 Socialist Workers Party convention

Contents:

The U.S. Ruling-Class Offensive Abroad and at Home by Jack Barnes.

Party Tasks and Perspectives in the Labor Movement by Joel Britton.

The Struggle for Women's Liberation by Willie Mae Reid.

The Chicano Movement and the Struggle Against Deportations by Olga Rodriguez.

The SWP and the Struggle for Black Liberation by Malik Miah.

Send \$1.15 to Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Rallies for the 'Militant' Gear National Leaders of SWP

Albany

Friday, November 4, 7:30 p.m., at Militant Bookstore, 100 Central Ave. Speaker: Frank Lovell. Donation: \$1.50.

Atlanta

Friday, November 4. Speaker: Maceo Dixon.

Baltimore

Friday, November 4, 8:00 p.m., at Militant Bookstore, 2117 N. Charles St. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters. Donation: \$2.

Boston

Saturday, November 5, 7:30 p.m., at George Sherman Union, Boston, 314, Boston University. Speaker: Frank Lovell.

Houston

Saturday, November 5, 7:30 p.m., Speaker: Linda Jenkins.

Los Angeles

Friday, November 4, 8:00 p.m., at King Lecture Hall #2, Cal State University. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez. Donation: \$1.

Minneapolis

Saturday, November 5, 7:30 p.m., at Militant Bookstore, 3901 N. 27th St. Speaker: Cathy Soderstrom.

New Orleans

Friday, November 4, Speaker: Linda Jenkins.

Newark

Friday, November 4, 8:00 p.m., at Militant Bookstore, 11A Central Ave. Speaker: Malik Miah. Donation: \$1.

Philadelphia

Saturday, November 5, 7:00 p.m., at Militant Bookstore, 218 S. 45th St. Speaker: Malik Miah. Donation: \$1.50.

Phoenix

Friday, November 4, 8:00 p.m., at Militant Bookstore, 314 E. Taylor. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid.

Raleigh

Saturday, November 5, Speaker: Maceo Dixon.

San Diego

Saturday, November 5, at South YMCA, Logan and Buckle Aves. Reception: 6:00 p.m.; Rally: 6:30 p.m. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid. Donation: \$1.50 (July 1977).

San Francisco

Saturday, November 4, 7:30 p.m., at Dione Hall, 35-39 18th St. Speaker: Olga Rodriguez.

St. Louis

Thursday, November 3, Speaker: Cathy Soderstrom.

Washington, D.C.

Saturday, November 5, Speaker: Mary Alice Waters.

Help boost Militant \$50,000 Fund Drive

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Striking Ky. miners protest cop attack

By Nancy Cole

WHITLEY CITY, Ky.—More than 350 people crammed into a room in the McCreary County courthouse here October 21 to protest the state police attack four days before on striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

The main feature of the meeting was a videotaped film showing riot-equipped state police swinging clubs as they waded into some 150 assembled strikers. The miners had gathered at the mine entrance October 17 to prevent a handful of scabs from going through their picket line.

At the end of the cop assault, a dozen miners required medical attention and 117 strikers and supporters were under arrest.

Nearly 160 Stearns miners have been on strike for fifteen months. The Blue Diamond Coal Company refuses to negotiate. Last winter it brought in gun thugs. But the week before the state police assault was its first attempt at running scabs through the picket line.

At the film showing here, United Mine Workers spokespeople briefly addressed the audience to express solidarity with the strikers.

Mason Caudill, representing UMWA District 19 (of which the Stearns miners will become part when they win the strike), said, "All you need is someone over there with a picket sign, and we'll be over here. No matter what you may hear, we're behind you."

Another UMWA spokesperson told

the audience, "The politicians in this county say they're behind you, but they're not doing anything. I'd remember that on election day."

After the speakers at the front of the room finished their remarks, people got up from the audience to commend the work of the UMWA organizers or to pay tribute to the Stearns women, who helped defend the October 17 picket line. (Thirty-nine women were arrested.)

Judy Taylor announced that she had just received a call from Margaret Kelly from the Stearns Strike Defense Committee at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. "She said they were going to try to send people down here today, and she said they are 100 percent behind us," Taylor said to cheers and applause.

Picket captain Mahan Vanover—a thirty-five-year veteran of the Stearns mine and one of those hospitalized after the police attack—also said a few words. He concluded by declaring that he was sick about the way their taxes were used to send state police to break the strike. If it doesn't stop, Vanover told the meeting to great cheering, "I'm going to pay no more taxes in the state of Kentucky."

During the showing of the videotape, miners and supporters watched the two small TV screens intently. Cheers erupted at times when the film showed miners defending themselves.

After the meeting as miners filed back to the strike headquarters to



Militant/Nancy Cole

Stearns strikers—some in bandages from October 17 police assault—meet in strike headquarters.

collect their strike benefit checks and to have a meeting, women with their children milled around outside talking about the events of the past couple of weeks.

Asked if any women were consider-

ing mine jobs, Jackie Phillips answered that she was planning to get one as soon as the strike was won.

Phillips works as a waitress, "and I could work three shifts before I made

Continued on page 29

Union women organize for IWY

By Shelley Kramer

Union women will be an important contingent in the battle for women's rights at the upcoming International Women's Year conference in Houston, November 18-21.

Working women find themselves at the receiving end of both the government's escalating attacks on equal rights and the employers' efforts to shift the burden—and the blame—for their economic troubles onto women and the oppressed nationalities.

The same forces behind the reactionary "right to life" and "Stop ERA" crusades champion antiunion "right to work" laws and rail against the minimum wage, undocumented workers, company-provided child care, and other concerns of working women.

Among the trade-union representatives elected delegates to the IWY conference are members of the United Auto Workers; American Federation of Teachers; National Education Association; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; and Communication Workers of America.

These unions, along with the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), are organizing a Labor Caucus at the conference open to all union members. The Labor Caucus will work with other IWY caucuses, such as the Black Caucus.



Militant/Anne Teesdale
Labor caucus is forming for Houston International Women's Year conference.

"The media gives more coverage to Phyllis Schlafly, who's anti-everything women normally stand for, than to the women—and men—who support the ERA," Charlene Knight told the *Militant*. Knight is a member of the UAW's Women's Department and an IWY delegate. She added that many union men support the ERA "because it is in their interests to have equal wages for women." The UAW will feature a Spanish-English bilingual brochure on the ERA at its literature booth in Houston.

The recent District 31 conference of the United Steelworkers endorsed the ERA and adopted a resolution urging the IWY conference to support ratification (see page 8).

Delegates from the National Education Association, according to an NEA spokesperson, will urge the Labor Caucus to take up the defense of abortion rights as well as other issues.

The September national convention of CLUW discussed bringing union women to the Houston meeting. "We are against the Phyllis Schlaflys of the world," CLUW president Joyce Miller said in a recent *New York Times* interview. "The same ultraconservative women who are anti-ERA are also anti-union. Now we have a group to fight them from the other side."

The Houston chapter of CLUW is actively working to build the November 18 welcoming rally for support-

ers of women's rights attending the IWY conference. Sponsored by more than thirty-five women's organizations in Texas, the rally is being called to commemorate the memory of Alice Paul, author of the ERA, and to demonstrate support for equal rights. The rally will begin at 4:00 p.m. on the steps of city hall in Houston.

Some unions are scheduling meetings to take place in Houston during the IWY proceedings. The Communication Workers of America will hold a national women's committee meeting to prepare for its 1978 national women's conference. State presidents of the National Education Association will also be meeting during the IWY conference, as will the national executive board of CLUW.

CLUW and the UAW Women's Department have urged union members to ask their locals for funds to send observers to Houston. Five locals of the UAW have voted to send representatives to Houston.

The National Organization for Women is also urging women who are not delegates to attend. The recent Pennsylvania NOW state conference adopted a resolution calling on all supporters of women's rights—members of NOW, unions, campus organizations, Black, and civil rights organizations—to come to Houston. The conference proposed fundraising activities to maximize participation.